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# LECTURES

ON

# THE SCIENCE OF LITERATURE

PARTLY DELIVERED

IN EDINBURGH (SUMMER MEETING, 1898)

BY

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FIRST SERIES:
COMPARATIVE LITERATURE.

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# PREFACE.

This „first series" of lectures on the science of literature was, for the greater part, written at Oxford, 1897—1898, and some of them were read at the University Extension Meeting in Edinburgh, in the summer of 1898. It is only a first series, for since then, having collected vast material from nearly all the existing sciences, and having already begun to work this out, I intend to publish a „second series" of these lectures later on.

But the continuation of my work will bear a somewhat different character from the volume published here. This volume contains chiefly a sketch of the literature of mankind, divided according to languages and races, but it is far from perfect. An exhaustive study especially of the problem of race has taught me that our knowledge in this direction is very crude, and that anthropology and ethnology as sciences are only in their infancy, sciences rightly termed by thinkers mere collections of facts. As far as regards the race-problem, I wish the reader to bear in mind that my work has to be regarded more as a collection of useful material, than as the definitive and undeviating opinion of the author.

I have often made it my aim to suggest the problem rather than to solve it, and I shall be grateful for any observations and additions from competent readers, in order, by continuous study, to prove whether the hypotheses found in my work may be fully applied to literature, considered as a science.

For this reason I beg the reader to regard this volume only as a forerunner, and not to adopt all my conclusions as fixed theories — to cite one example: the names „Aryan" „Indo-european" and „Semitic", especially „Semitic", are insufficient, and better names ought to be introduced — and I wish to add that the second volume of these lectures will be an attempt to combine the study of literature with all the other branches of learning, also with physical and medical science, and to raise that study to the level of a positive science; as until now literature has not been studied in a truly scientific way.

Literature has always been considered part of so-called mental (or „psychological") science, but the dualism of „body" and „soul", the doctrine of two opposite principles, which cannot bear the light of modern scientific knowledge, ought to come to an end, and the so-called mental sciences — especially the study of literature — ought to be introduced as a necessary part of the physical and medical ones, or rather: ought to be reduced to true philosophy, as a system embracing all the existing sciences. Scientific literature must fix the laws of thought, the mental laws which govern the evolution of mankind, and as long as it has not accomplished this, it does not deserve the name of *science*. What I tried to do some time ago, viz. to fix a positive and truly scientific basis for the study of law, I also intend to do for the study of literature.

The determination of those mental laws, as applied to education and instruction, is one of the highest and noblest aims of science and knowledge; and I shall be glad, if I can in any way contribute towards the attainment of that end, as far as lies in my modest powers.

*Utrecht*, 1904. H. C. MULLER.

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Present exemplar

FIRST LECTURE.

# Comparative Literature.

## INTRODUCTION.

There exists a very good book on Comparative Literature, written by Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett, M. A., Barrister-at-law, and formerly professor of classics and English literature in University College, Auckland, New-Zealand, author of „The historical method", etc. It has been published in London by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1896. „Should the present application of historical science „to literature meet with general approval — he says in „his preface — the establishment of chairs in comparative „literature at the leading universities of Great Britain, „America, and the Australian colonies would do much „to secure the steady progress of this vast study, *which „must depend on the cooperation of many scholars. The harvest „truly is plenteous, but the labourers, as yet, are few.*" [1]

In his first chapter Mr. Posnett answers the question: What *is* literature? His rough definition is that it consists of works which, whether in verse of prose, are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the

[1] Besides Mr. Posnett, we can mention Dr. Koch in Berlin, Mr. Rossel in Bern, the late Joseph Texte in France, L. P. Betz in Zürich, and some others. But the whole science is still „à faire", and Mr. Posnett's work, though very valuable, is only a beginning. I refer also to the Journal of Comparative Literature, which is published in New-York (by the department of comp. liter., Columbia College).

pleasure of the greatest possible number of the nation rather than instruction and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than specialised knowledge He then shows, with many examples from various languages, the social and physical *relativity* of literature, that is to say, how it is connected with, and depends upon the age, the manners and customs, the climate and scenery, the social life of the different authors. [1]

The third chapter describes what Mr. Posnett calls „the principle of literary growth", viz. the progressive deepening and widening of personality in literature. In the movement of civilisation, a movement by no means regular, but often spasmodic, back and forward, forward and back, though on the whole forward — *personal character* comes to stand out more and more distinctly from the general crowd, and the highest evolution of character is, where every individual in the entire group stands out in clear-cut personality. This evolution of character includes the general movement and very evolution of literature. [2]

Now, what is the method Mr. Posnett follows in his general study of literature? He considers *the gradual expansion of social life*, from clan to city, from city to nation, from both of these to cosmopolitan humanity, as the proper order of all study in comparative literature. There are other standpoints — he adds — profoundly interesting, from which the art and criticism of literature may also be explained: that of physical nature, that of animal life. But from these alone we shall not see far into the secrets of literary workmanship. [3] So, his whole book is divided into: *clan literature* (the clan group; early choral

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[1] As a French proverb says: „On doit juger les écrits d'après leur date."

[2] P. 70—71. It would be very interesting to work out this theory. Take for instance Goethe's works, and Byron's. There is a great deal of character, that is to say personality, in both; and still, many passages and many ideas belong to their time, and to their time only.

[3] P. 86 Mr. Posnett's point of view is very interesting. In the latter part of our 19th century it is impossible to isolate the individual from his fellow-brethren, from the whole of society in which he lives. A social age, so to say, is approaching, in which individual study and the study of individuals will assume a new character.

song; personal clan poetry; the clan and nature), *the city commonwealth* (the city commonwealth group; clan survivals in the city commonwealth, poetry of the city commonwealth), and *world-literature* (the individual spirit in world-literature; the social spirit in world-literature; and world-literature in India and China). At the end of his book he deals with *national literature*, a subject of which there is now such an interesting revival in all parts of Europe. He asks: „what is national literature?" And he devotes a special chapter both to „man" and to „nature" in national literature. Finally, he remarks in his splendid „conclusion", that literature is a very serious thing, which can become morally indifferent only in ages of moral indifference. Whether men like it or not, their literary efforts at ideal beauty in prose or verse must involve ideals of human conduct.[1]

If I may venture to make a remark of my own, I should say that Mr. Posnett's treatment of comparative literature is perhaps sometimes too „social" (if I may use that term). This can be shown very clearly p. 95, where the author refers to the well-known works of de Laveleye and Sir Henry Maine, on the common ownership of land. But the subject is so important and so immense that it is impossible to survey the field from all points of view. Comparative literature is a part of anthropology, as all anthropologists will admit; it is closely connected with art and with studies in art, not only with the art of poetry, but also with music, with the art of painting, with architecture, and so on; it can be considered from a merely aesthetic point of view, or from a historical and philosophical standpoint; it is the proper study of man, „homo sum, nihilque humani a me alienum puto"; in short, it is as important as its earlier sister, comparative philology, and perhaps more comprehensive. Why should phonetics be studied all over Europe, and especially in Germany, and comparative literature be neglected? Are the English dialects, and dialect study in general, more important than the dialects of the eternal human mind, as shown in the prose and poetry of centuries? The difficulty of the subject ought not to discourage us; it is quite

[1] P. 391.

necessary to a comparative „littérateur" to know many languages, many dialects, and many books, and it has well been said that „life is short, and art is long", ars longa, vita brevis. „Art is long, and time is fleeting" (Lonfellow). The co-operation of many scholars (I repeat Mr. Posnett's words) is inevitable, but why should this not be so? Aristotle observed that man is a political being, πολιτικὸν ζῷον, and though I do not underrate the great value of individualism both in science and in art, I should wish there were much more co-operation and mutual help in the immense fields of literature. Encyclopedic work becomes more and more necessary; there are too many special works and special periodicals; there is too much specialising in every field, so that the progress of science is often retarded by unnecessary competition and superfluous work.

Such a co-operation need not give us specialists only, because for the comparative study of literature a comparative mind, that is a general and comprehensive mind, is required. It is especially in England and in English-speaking countries that I hope this study will soon be introduced; many German scholars and writers of to-day are sometimes vague and obscure; Frenchmen not always treat their subjects thoroughly enough. So I hope that Mr. Posnett's book will have some success, and above all that his method will be followed in this branch of science. [1]

I have already remarked that it is quite necessary for our purpose to know many tongues, to compare many languages, and to read many books of literature. Let us see for a moment, whether Mr. Posnett has performed this task well. and let us begin with English writers.

Amongst these he cites Arnold, Bacon, Berkeley, Blackie, Browning, Byron, Carlyle, Chaucer, Coleridge, Dryden, George Eliot, Freeman, Gibbon, Hallam, Johnson, Kingsley,

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[1] There is an excellent remark of his to be found, p. 160: „If our laborious German scholars would only devote a little spare time to the comparison of the social conditions under which the poetry of heroism has flourished in different countries and ages, we might know more about the beginnings of the epic than we are likely to learn from any number of textual emendations and verbal skirmishings". Many splendid remarks of this kind may be found in Mr. Posnett's book.

Locke, Macaulay, Henry Maine, Marlowe, Milton, Pope, Ruskin, Scott, Shakspere, Shelley, Adam Smith, Spenser, Swift, Swinburne, Tyndall, Wilson and Wordsworth. You see most of the best names are found in his book, and you cannot say of these names, with the French proverb, „des noms fort étonnés de se trouver ensemble".

Besides English writers, we find representatives of French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian literature. Greek and Latin writers occupy a very important place. The prose and poetry of China, of the Hindûs, of the Arabs and the Hebrews, are not forgotten, and many good translations of Semitic and other authors are done by Mr. Posnett himself.

Of the smaller countries in Europe, no mention is made, but it is impossible, in a general book of 400 pages, to mention them all. We miss Ibsen and Björnstjerne Björnson, the Norvegian writers; we miss Vondel and Bilderdijk and Multatuli amongst the Dutch; we miss Petöfi, the Hungarian; we miss modern Greek and modern Slavonic literature. No mention is made of the Kalevala, the Finnish epic; of the only American drama, the „Ollanta", dating from the time of the Inca's in Peru (if it is genuine, at least), that has come down to us. But why should I add more to this list? If there is any study, in which it is impossible for *one person* to reach the highest degree of comprehensiveness, it is doubless the study of comparative literature,[1] and, as regards the universal ideas and aspect of that science and the method according to which it should be treated, one can find most interesting passages all through the book, e. g. on the social spirit in world-literature,

[1] But I wish to add that it seems very difficult to the scholars of England and America, to avoid what Stedman calls, with a felicitous word, „insularity", the one-sidedness, which is always a great obstacle to English speaking people, and which can be observed even in the books of those writers and scholars, who deserve praise and admiration for their science and comprehensiveness. So, for instance, E. C. Stedman in his very remarkable book on „The nature and elements of poetry", London, 1892, quotes a respectable list of authors, but still it is to be observed that we find in his book nearly 110 poets and prose-writers of England and America, and only 72 belonging to other literatures, and this fact makes his judgment one-sided, although I do not wish to diminish the great merits of his fine and suggestive book.

and the general influence of Christianity upon the development of literature. Are we justified (the author asks) in regarding the social as the dominant aspect of Christian world-literature, are we justified in treating the teaching of Christ and his disciples as the most splendid example of the social spirit in world-literature? It is clear (he answers) that the ideal community of Ezekiel is spiritualised and universalised in the Christian brotherhood, and that, though the conditions of the Roman empire, or the temporal power Christianity afterwards acquired, or the industrial development of modern Europe, have thrown the social spirit of Christianity into the background, *the creed, whose individual side was expressed by Dante, was above all things the mighty utterance of man's social spirit.* [1] He then proceeds to the world-literature in India and China, and gives us a most remarkable comparison between the Indian and Chinese poetry of nature, dramatic or otherwise, with that of modern Europe. In fact, there are striking resemblances between Asiatic and European literature, the object of human life, in Buddha's view, can be compared with the ideas, found in Goethe's Faust. Another useful comparison can be made between Indian and Greek and European epic poetry, between the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata and the Iliad and Odyssey; and, above all, between the Sanskrit drama and the Greek. [2] The specimens of the Chinese and of the Japanese drama, given by Mr. Posnett, are also very interesting, on one side it is to be noted how the prominence of nature and the exhaustive description of the beauties of nature distinguishes the Oriental from the Western dramas — as also the whole „mise-en-scène", the extent of the plays, and other peculiarities — on the other hand there are many similarities, and much can be learned from a comparative study of dramatic lite-

[1] P. 286—287.

[2] P. 309. 199. Cf. a very interesting art of A. Boltz on „Vasantasena und die Griechischen Hetaeren im indischen Drama", in my periodical „Hellas", Leiden 1895, p. 279 sqq. The historical and comparative study of the drama, and of the stage in general, is exceedingly interesting, because it is on one hand the most primitive, and on the other hand the most highly developed record of human literature in general. Cp. the Pitt River's Collection in the Oxford University Museum, and other valuable anthropological collections.

rature all over the world. The history of the drama is the history of civilisation, and a comparative study of it is the comparative history of the development of human civilisation and human art from the first and rudest beginnings to the highest degree of the Shakespearian and modern drama, which, treated by Ibsen and Sudermann and others, obtains in the present days more and more a social character.

„To detail the manner in which the castes and village communities of India, the family system and sentiments of China, aided by physical conditions, prevented the growth of that individualised life which has become in Europe the main source of literary as well as scientific ideas, would be a task far beyond the limits of a work like the present", Mr. Posnett modestly remarks. [1] However this may be, the material collected by him may be very useful to us, and though the time has not yet come to attempt a scientific reconstruction of the common germs, for example, of the Aryan or the Semitic literature, as has been done, with regard to comparative linguistics, by Bopp, Schleicher, Brugmann and others, rich material may be assembled, and a scientific method of studying literature can be introduced, which differs widely from the superficial and subjective manner, in which many critical literary treatises and books are composed. [2]

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[1] P. 335.

[2] Brandes' „Hauptströmungen der Literatur" (German translation) and many other works, of course, ought to be excepted. But superficial literary criticism continues still doing much evil, especially in journalism. Comparative i. e. scientific study of literature is quite impossible without a profound knowledge of some of the chief languages and literatures, let us say of Europe. Many „critics" do not even know their own language perfectly well. — Joseph Texte says: „Il faut qu'un critique littéraire „digne de ce nom connaisse au moins deux littératures modernes". Revue Int. de l'Enseignement, 1893, p. 269. But I think a literary critic, who wishes to work comparatively, ought to know more than two modern languages and literatures, even when he confines himself to European literature. He ought to know at least 1. English, 2. French, 3. German, 4. Russian (more or less), and although there are many fine translations of Greek and Latin, it will be useful for him to know also the originals. This brings us already to 6 languages, but Italian and other languages are not to be excepted. In short, comparative literature requires a more or less profound knowledge of many languages.

The end of Mr. Posnett's valuable work contains a chapter on national literature, and some general conclusions. He confines himself justly to illustrating briefly the evolution of individualism in national literatures, and the effect of such an evolution on man's views of physical nature, for „it were the task of a literary Hercules" to chronicle the rise of new forms, new ideas in verse and prose *in each European nation*, and the gradual separation of science from literature; to trace such a growth to its roots in social and physical causes; finally to compare and contrast these causes as producing the diverse literatures of England and France and Germany, of Italy and Spain and Russia. We might add the Netherlands, and Sweden and Norway, and the national Polish literature, and Hungary, and modern Greece, and many other specimens of national literary life. We might mention the dialect-literature in various countries, e. g. the Frisian literature in the Netherlands, the Flemish literature in the N. part of Belgium („Vlaamsche Beweging"), the dialect-literature in Germany (Fritz Reuter, Klaus Groth), and so on. But this is only to show how necessary it seems that chairs should be established in the different universities for teaching the study of national and of international literature, because that would be the way to obtain a useful collaboration of many scholars, and each literature could be studied properly in the native country, which has seen its beginnings, its growth, its development, and its unavoidable decay. [1]

[1] It would be very interesting to work out this special point, to show e. g. how Latin and Greek must be studied in Italy and Greece, and what are the errors, necessarily made by those scholars and writers, who have never visited those countries; because as Shakspere says „all is in all" (the same idea, expressed by the Dutch writer Multatuli „alles is in alles"). Dialect literature, moreover, cannot properly be studied far from the domains where these dialects have flourished or still continue to flourish; compare, for example, the Cretan literature, the Cretan songs, etc. published by Jeannaraki; the Frisian poems of Gijsbert Japiks, of which there are interesting manuscripts in the Bodleian Library; the „Betuwsche Novellen" of Cremer, written in one of the modern Dutch dialects; the Scottish poems of Robert Burns; the dialect-literature in Germany, already mentioned (Platt-Deutsch, etc.) All these products of special life in national literature are closely connected with

Mr. Posnett's description of the European „sentiments of nature" is a very fine one, and he points out very clearly the necessary link between the mediaeval social forms and the mediaeval poetry, as seen in the Chansons de Geste, in the songs of the Minnesinger, in the verses of Bertran de Born, of which he gives a well-chosen example:

„Bien me sourit le doux printemps,
Qui fait venir fleurs et feuillages;
Et bien me plait lorsque j'entends
Des oiseaux le gentil ramage.
Mais j'aime mieux quand sur le pré
Je vois l'étendard arboré,
Flottant comme un signal de guerre;
Quand j'entends par monts et par vaux
Courir chevaliers et chevaux,
Et sous leurs pas frémir la terre",

and so on. He rightly observes that the life of nature, in those times, could not be observed from a broader and loftier platform than that of the feudal castle. And he then comes to the three great influences, at work in creating new ideas of nature in Europe, between the 12th and 16th centuries, viz. the rise of the towns, the progress of geographical discovery, and the Renaissance. From the Renaissance, and the voyages of discovery in the East and West, as represented in the Lusiad („Os Lusiadas") of the Portuguese poet Camoens and in other works, we proceed to modern times, to the times of the Revolution, to the poems of Byron and his imitators throughout Europe, of Shelley, of Wordsworth — poems, which give us a key for the understanding of the development of many other literatures in the beginning of the 19th century, the literature of modern Greece (Soutsos being an imitator of Byron), of modern Holland (compare the early poems of Beets), of modern Germany (compare Wilhelm Müller's Griechenlieder),

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the scenery, the land and soil, the climate, the buildings, the manners, customs and folklore, in short *with the far more narrow circle, in which these prosewriters and poets were breathing and living.* Perhaps, as our times grow more and more international, dialect literature must disappear, general („common") ideas cannot be expressed in languages only spoken by a disappearing minority. (Difficile est proprie communia dicere-quoted already by Byron).

and other countries. By doing this, we are able to observe the great chain which leads from the middle-ages to modern times, and the comparative study of literature becomes a necessary part of that immense history of civilisation, to which so many great English thinkers like Henry Thomas Buckle have devoted the best part of their lives. [1]

Now, that I have given a short account of one of the best books on comparative literature, written in English by an Englishman and published in that great international scientific series, to which J. Tyndall, Alexander Bain, J. W. Draper, William Dwight Whitney, A. de Quatrefages, T. H. Huxley, John Lubbock, and many other eminent scientific and literary men have contributed, I ought to do more than that, and not only to reproduce the work and the thoughts of my forerunner, but also to give my own ideas about the subject, and — if possible — to add some new impulse to that immense and difficult, but most interesting and attractive field of modern science.

Fancy that a chair for comparative literature be founded! What will be its principal aim? And how must this new science be taught?

A general sketch of European (and non-European) literature I would fix once and for all, as an outline map, in the brain of the young student. It is essential that he should conceive the history of each national literature as part of a larger movement. It is essential that he should

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[1] Buckle is not a „littérateur" in the common sense of the word, but I must confess that my more comprehensive ideas of literature have had a great impulse especially after reading his great work, although Buckle in those (unfinished) volumes deals more with the positive sciences and with history, than with the development of literature, in Mr. Posnett's sense of that word. Cf. what Jos. Texte says: „Cette méthode (d' étu„dier les littératures) ne peut être, comme toute méthode, „vraiment scientifique, que la méthode comparative, celle qui „est le lien commun entre des sciences aussi éloignées que „l'anatomie et la grammaire, la zoologie et la linguistique, la „paléontologie et la science des religions". (Revue Int. de l'Enseignement, 1893, p. 264).

But I may add that comparative literature can never become really a *science*, before we have arrived at the discovery of some mental laws, which govern the literary evolution of the nations.

know where were the head-quarters of literature in each successive period, now in Florence or in Rome, now in Paris, now in London, now at Weimar. When Boccacio is spoken of in connection with Chaucer, when Tasso or Ariosto is spoken of in connection with Spenser, or Boileau in connection with Dryden and Pope, or Goethe in connection with Carlyle, he ought at least to be able to place Boccacio and Tasso and Ariosto and Boileau and Goethe aright in the general movement of European literature, and in some measure to conceive aright the relation of each to the literary movement in his own country. [1]

This encyclopedic study of course must be a very general one. It is impossible to have more than a general „glimpse" of all the „literatures" in the world. For literature is not at all confined to Europe, though European literature forms the culminating point of it. Literature is at home in Asia, in China and India, in Japan, in Arabia and Persia. Australia being a recent part of the world can possibly be excepted [2], but Africa and America contribute largely to what I should like to call the „embryonic" study of literature. Bleek's work on „Reynard the Fox in South-Africa" shows us that the „Thierepos", as the Germans call it, must be studied comparatively. There exists already a very good book, written by Th. Benfey, on the Pancatantra, the well-known Indian tales and fables, but this study ought to be continued. The comparison of the beast-epic all over the world forms one of the most curious chapters of comparative literature, which is more or less another name for comparative mythology. Cf. also the works of A. Kuhn, Bréal, de Gubernatis, Grimm, Ralston, B. Schmidt, v. Hahn, Callaway, Brinton, Castrén, and many others. With reference to America, I have already mentioned the American drama „Ollanta", but I need

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[1] The teaching of English literature, p. 421, in: Edw. Dowden's (of Dublin Univ.) New Studies in Literature, London, Trübner, 1895, p. 419 sqq. — Joseph Texte says: „Le dernier „chapitre, et non le moins important, à écrire sur Pétrarque, „est un chapitre très curieux de littérature européenne". (Revue Int. de l'Enseignement, 1893, p. 263).

[2] Of course Australia possesses aboriginal literature, folklore, etc. (cp. Threlkeld's Grammar), but it is very unknown. Its study ought to be generally introduced.

only cite the works of the late Professor Brinton in order to prove that American literature is a wide field, especially interesting from an historical point of view. When I use the term „American" literature, I am not unconscious that there has existed, from the beginning of the 19th century, a real modern American literature, amongst the poets and prose writers of which Longfellow and Mark Twain are perhaps the most popular ones in foreign countries. So there are, really, two totally different „American" literatures, the one being aboriginal and dying out, the other essentially national, and the importance of which is increasing every day, together with the increasing importance of America in general and especially of the United States. [1]

This general sketch of the literature of all the peoples of the world — savage and civilized — ought to be the introduction to the comparative study of literature, showing how the beginning of literary art and expression, as well as the beginning of art and music in general, can be found in the simple songs and dances of aboriginal tribes, representing the most primitive condition of what may be called „literature".

It would be useless, I think, to say that „literature", as the word indicates — „littera" meaning „letter" — does not begin before the beginning of writing. For *how* and *where* was the beginning of writing? Everybody knows the etymology of the word „write" and the Greek γράφειν and the history of the σήματα λυγρά in Homer's „Iliad". Everybody who studies the primitive culture of mankind, knows that the art of writing, in different manners, occurs very early amongst the most different tribes and peoples of the world. [2] It is of course very difficult to trace the

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[1] There is a great and steady progress in America, in all fields of science. As to literature, I believe the progress is also great. The European Continent is „growing old", America is still young and flourishing. Europe has to preserve, to retain and to strengthen its traditions, whereas America is much more free in its literary movement and development.

[2] Compare the collection regarding this subject in the Museum of Oxford, and Tylor's researches about the primitive culture of mankind. And cf. Wilkens works on the folklore of the aboriginal tribes of the Dutch Indies, Falb's work on the Inca-empire in Peru, and the beginning of the art of writing, and

lines of this history, and it is true that literature, in the more common sense of the world, is of a later period; but it is equally true that the sense of the beautiful, the origin of metre and rhythm, and of poetry in general, can be traced back to the very beginnings of moral or pastoral or nomad life, and that there are many transitions from a rude and uncultivated manner of expressing pleasure and sorrow and ideas, to the more cultivated and more or less artistic literature, which we find in the Old Testament, in Homer, in the Vedic songs, and in other documents.

When this necessary introduction is finished, the proper comparative study of literature begins. Let us give one example. Take for instance Homer's poems. There are many good books on Homer, many good translations, many Greek dictionaries. One can learn much about Homer by studying all these works. But how must we study Homer comparatively in the future? There is quite another manner of proceeding.

One of the most important points is the metre of Homer. Now this metre ought to be studied comparatively, the origin of the hexameter, the question of accent and quantity, the recitation of epic verse, and other questions can be far better explained by comparing similar songs of other nations. [1] If this is true for the forms of ancient Greek epic poetry, it is also true for the understanding of the text. The folklore of Homer, if I may use this word, must be compared with the folklore of other nations. The Greek and Asiatic people of Homer's time (or „times", one should rather say) presents the same, or nearly the same condition, as many savage and demi-savage tribes of to-day in Africa and in other countries. The superstitions, the customs, the whole manner of living from birth

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many similar works. There is an evolution in the art of writing, as there has been in all human inventions. Tylor says: „This invention (of writing) seems to have been made more than once, and in somewhat different ways". — Anthropology, p. 169.

[1] Cf. my „Contributions to the knowledge of ancient Greek poetry", written in Dutch in the periodical „Hellas" 1896, Usener's book on „Altgriechische Metrik", and many other similar works.

till death, the wedding and marriage, in short Homeric life in general, presents the most striking resemblance to the actual life of many of those tribes, and, as the same causes always have the same results, we ought not to wonder that the study of African savage tribes often throws more light upon the text of the Homeric poems than many scientific and learned contribution of scholars, who, sitting in their studies and studying from books and from dead knowledge only, sometimes make the problems they deal with more intricate than before, and to whom may be applied the fine phrase, which is to be found in Buckle's work, „They first have raised a dust, and then complain „they cannot see!" [2]

And we ought not to restrict ourselves to Homer. All the literary productions ought to be studied comparatively, and this shows the immense value of translations, as of course it is impossible to study all the literatures in the original languages. We may venture to say, even with our scanty knowledge, *that comparative literature will throw in future times more light upon different fields of philology than is done nowadays by the special researches of hundreds of specialists.*

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[1] Cf. Torrend's „Comparative grammar of the South-African Bantu languages" where (at the end) the Homeric phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ is explained by a similar expression of the Kafirs. Cf. also the manners and customs of the Gallas („Lexicon der Gallasprache", von Karl Tutschek, München 1844, p. XXI), to be compared with the Homeric age, etc. etc. The comparison of Greek (and European) proverbs with African proverbs, etc. will also be very useful, cf. J. Zimmerman, „A grammat. sketch of the Akra or Gâ-language", Stuttgart 1858, p. 158 sqq., etc. etc.

SECOND LECTURE.

## The literature of different tribes and nations, considered chiefly from a social and historical point of view, according to the principles laid down by Mr. Posnett.

After this short introduction, which is of course very imperfect, we have to trace the lines of comparative literature in general, and to work out this immense subject of study. Happily Mr. Posnett's excellent book has shown the way, and we have only to continue his method, which we may call the historical method. But when a writer desires to treat a very comprehensive subject, he has first to make a skeleton, so to say, of the different parts, like the sketch of the architect that precedes the execution of the building; and so I will endeavour also to sketch the main divisions, into which a new work on comparative literature might be divided, adding something to the method and the ideas of my forerunner.

First of all, the literature of different tribes and nations ought to be considered mostly from the „social" point of view, treated so excellently by Mr. Posnett. Perhaps we might proceed from the clan to the city-commonwealth, thence to the nation and the national literature, and then again to world-literature, of which in fact we find no serious germs before the nineteenth century. We need not rewrite Mr. Posnett's book, but we can prove the truth of his scheme and his method by new and fresh examples.

In following this method an historical and comparative study of the political and social institutions of mankind is quite necessary, the many links which unite this science with the science of literature are admirably demonstrated by Mr. Posnett. Such works as Maine's on the early institutions of mankind, as de Laveleye's and of others on these periods, are especially valuable.

The following lecture (or chapter) might be devoted to literature, considered from what I should wish to call the „anthropological" point of view. Anthropology is a very difficult science because so little was done before the 19th century, because it touches nearly all branches of science, and because its usefulness and necessity are not generally acknowledged. In English universities there is only one chair, at Oxford, occupied by Tylor. Yet in England, with all its colonies, anthropology could be better studied than anywhere else. The following century, I hope, will remove these deficiencies. We may add that already nowadays in America very useful work is being done (cp. the articles on the racial geography of Europe, in Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, New-York, and other publications). But with regard to literature, I mean to call attention to a different treatment from that, indicated in the preceding chapter; stress should be laid upon the very development of what may be called the beginning of literature amongst savage tribes and more or less higher developed ones. The most embryonical methods of expression ought to be studied, and in the mean time the very difficult question must be answered: Where does literature begin?

After this inquiry another method may be examined. We may consider literature from the „aesthetical" point of view, a subject somewhat neglected in Mr. Posnett's standard-work. The development of the idea of the „beautiful" is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting chapters of comparative literature. It is not enough to study such books of taste and fashion as Oeser's „Aesthetische Briefe", or Lessing's „Laokoon"; this development must be studied from the earliest times and from its most primitive forms till the present century, and such a study is of the highest importance, because the proper idea of literature is most intimately connected with the idea of the beautiful. A

good definition of literature cannot be given without a special treatment of these very intricate questions. [1]

These seem to me the principal methods which can be followed by the student of comparative literature. So the foundation being laid, it is rather easy to trace the lines of the work that remains to be done. We might then give a general view of the literatures of the different races of mankind, and the beginning of a comparison between those literatures. What has been done in this direction? And what remains still to be done?

Most works upon literature being not comparative at all, a very difficult and very comprehensive part of the whole study still remains to be done. The influence of the literature of one race, or of one nation, on the literature of another, ought now to be treated, and the usefulness of a comparative method shown by at least a few, well-chosen examples. This part of the book we may also call geographical and historical, for following the geographical map or rather the history of the discovery of the several parts of the world, we might take first Australia and Africa, afterwards America, and thence proceed to Asia and Europe, where the highest civilisation and the highest development of world-literature can be studied. There ought to be made some division, however imperfect it must be [2], and we would at least, by this division, have

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[1] Cf. Mr. Posnett's definition of literature, „works which, „whether in verse or prose, are the handicraft of ima- „gination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the „greatest possible number of the nation rather than instruction „and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than spe- „cialised knowledge". This is a very good definition, but — omnis definitio (et comparatio) claudicat. It would be easy to show that a somewhat better definition can be made, which I will try to do in a following chapter.

[2] For a part of African literature, e. g. belongs to Europe. Cp. the early Egyptian documents, cp. Herodotos' historical work (as explained by Sayce and others), cp. Terentius comedies (Terentius was called „Afer" = the African), etc., etc. There are also some useful remarks to be found in Father Torrend's introduction to his Comparative Grammar of the S. African Bantu-languages. — Perhaps it would be better not to take the parts of the world (globe) as subdivisions for the development of literature, but for the moment this seems to be the most practical way.

the slight advantage of proceeding from one point of the world, the literature of which is most neglected and least known, viz. Australia and Oceania, to Asia and Europe.

According to what we have stated, the student of comparative literature has first to turn to the internal and external sources of national development, and the effect of different phases of this development on literature. Just as according to the old Dutch proverb „the language is wholly the people" [1], so the literature of a people is a pure image of the history of that people. Thus we have first what Posnett calls the narrow circles of clans or tribal communities. What is a clan? Chamber's etymological dictionary explains it as a „tribe or collection of families subject to a single chieftain, bearing the same surname, and supposed to have a common ancestor: a clique, sect, or body of persons; Gaelic *clann*, Irish *clann* or *cland* i. e. offspring, tribe". — But we do not need this apparently Celtic word, and we can speak of tribal songs as the primitive literature. of tribal communities. Many fine specimens of this kind of literature have already been given in Posnett's book, and whereever we look, we always find such sentiments and thoughts, as can live within such narrow spheres, expressing in rude poetry intense feelings of brotherhood, but showing weak conceptions of personality.

Of this primitive literature many new examples can be given. Achilles in his tent, who sings „the glorious deeds of men" [2], and who is the intimate friend of his clansman Patroklos, whose death afterwards he has to revenge, is a fine specimen of this kind of poetry. Indeed, in the Iliad the nucleus of an „Achilleïs" (so called already by Goethe) can easily be detected, and learned scholars have

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[1] In Dutch: „De taal is gansch het volk". Nowhere perhaps can this be better proved than in Greek literature, from the remotest times to the present day, cf. my „Historical Grammar „of the Hellenic Language".

[2] As the Iliad says „ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν". The word κλέος, which has a digamma κλέϝος, is akin with skr. çru — „to hear" Latin in-cli-tus, etc. etc. κλέϝα in this passage of Homer must have the very old signification of „glorious deeds" of clansmen, and must refer to very old songs, old already in Homeric times.

published many treatises on this subject, showing the primitive „centre", around which so many various tribal songs have been registered, long before the time of Peisistratos, when it is said that the first redaction of the Homeric poems was made.

A great many examples can be gathered in studying the primitive languages and the still more primitive literature of the African tribes. Take, for instance, the Gâ people, inhabiting that part of the Gold-Coast of Western-Africa, which is limited in the South by the sea, the river Volta in the East, and the Akwapim-mountains in the North and North-West, thus forming a triangular plain (this language seems to be spoken by about 100.000 people). Short Gâ-songs — as the Rev. J. Zimmermann remarks — are composed at random during their plays, dances, etc. These are often very witty and satirical, but we are still too little acquainted with this part of the language, to have a sure footing as to metre, tune, etc. Proverbs and fables or tales, which already exist in hundreds and even thousands, are also continually produced by young and old. But it is difficult, especially with the latter, to get them correctly, and the style and spirit of them, partly expressed by theatrical change of voice, songs, natural imitating sounds of voices and noices, interjections, etc. are *generally lost in writing them down.* It is the same with speeches and histories.[1] The Gallas, who dwell in numerous tribes round the south of Abyssinia, have also their games, their dances, accompanied by metrical and rhymed songs; and so it is amongst all the aboriginal tribes of Africa, and not only of Africa, but also in America and Australia, where these tribes are dying fast, owing to the widely spread civilisation and influence of the white

[1] J. Zimmermann, A grammat. sketch of the Akra- of Gâ-language, and some specimens of it from the mouth of the natives. Stuttgart, 1858, p. 203. — The comparative study of proverbs is also very interesting and useful; take f. i. the proverbs, given by Zimmermann, p. 158 sgg., compared with Greek and Latin proverbs, with Welsh proverbs (Vaughan, „Welsh proverbs with Engl. translations", Lond. 1889), old-Frisian proverbs (as published by J. Hepkema and me in the „Advertentieblad" of Heerenveen, Netherlands, 1897), etc., etc.

races.[1] Everywhere, in the folklore of these nations and tribes, we find specimens of the true clan-poetry, which shows clearly the actual social condition of the people, which produces it.

Our common ancestors, the Aryans, seem also to have had the same social conditions, before the times of their emigration and wandering. The tie which connected the people — Professor v. Ihering remarks — was very loose. They were gathered into tribes (*jana*), ruled by princes (*râjan*); the tribes were divided into provinces (*viç*), and these again into villages (*grâma*). But there was no bond of union between the tribes to bind them all together into one political whole. The tribe was the highest political unity. Only in times of danger did one tribe combine with its nearest neighbour; when the peril was gone they dissolved the bond. The situation, therefore, was similar to that of the Germans, as described by Tacitus, i. e. Aryans and Germans were ethnographically, but not politically, a nation; an aggregate of purely independent tribes existing solely for themselves. Of any common action by the whole nation — such, f. i., as the march of the Greeks against Troy — even subsequent history does not speak. The objection which might be taken to this statement, viz. the emigration of the Aryans to India and their occupation of the land, may be met by the assumption that probably the southern tribes moved on first, and the others followed later.[2]

Unhappily, there are only a few relics of the most early poetry or literature (for in those times literature meant poetry) of our ancestors, and of other races, who acquired afterwards such a high state of culture, and we have again and again to turn to other races, in other parts of the world, the literature of whom is studied with

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[1] Cp. Karl. Tutschek, Lexicon der Galla-Sprache. München 1844, p, XX—XXII. And, above all, the journal of the S. Africa Folklore Society, Capetown.

[2] „The evolution of the Aryan", by Rud. v. Ihering. Transl. from the German, by A. Drucker, M. P. Lond. 1897, p. 25. What v. Ihering remarks about Homer, is not quite true; a name for a „whole nation", as for example "*Ελληνες*, does not yet appear. The Homeric poems really seem to belong to different times and ages.

zeal by antiquarians and ethnologists of these days. It is only to be regretted that the labour of missionaries, great as it has been in the field of languages, has not always been very useful in the domains of literature; the pious zeal and devotion, above all, of the Jesuits has done much to destroy and to abolish early aboriginal literature of more or less savage tribes, after the discovery of America.[1]

Many interesting specimens of early choral song, of personal clan poetry, and of description of nature, its powers and its beauties, have been given already in Mr. Posnett's book. Choral songs occur amongst the Dacotahs of North America, in the village community (or „Mir") of Russia, amongst the old Greeks as well as amongst the Hebrews, in India, China and everywhere. Of personal songs and of the poetry of blood-revenge very striking examples are found in Arab poetry, of which Mr. Posnett gives us some splendid translations.

Some fine specimens of early dance and song can be given from America; so, for instance, the melody, dance and poems in the savage state of the Iroquois, the Hurons, and other American tribes (now dying fast and becoming gradually extinct by European civilisation) are very useful for the comparative study of literature. „Many of those who have lived among the Iroquois have assured me — says Brown — that after a chief of war hath circumstantially recounted, at his return, all that hath passed in the expedition he had undertaken. and the battles he had fought, they who are present at the recital often rise on the sudden to dance, and represent those actions with great vivacity, as if they had been present."[2]

Let us give one more example, taken from Arabian

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[1] But even the Jesuits are growing more independently scientific now; cf. for instance the grammars of Mexican and Amer. languages, compiled by Jesuits in the 16th and 17th century, with Torrend's Comp. Grammar of the S. Afr. Bantu languages (Lond. Trübner), where many fine specimens of folklore are given. — America, especially, offers still a wide field, and American scholars like Brinton devoted very efficient studies to this neglected department. One of the best bibliographies seems to me still Ludewig's book „On aboriginal literature of America", published by Trübner.

[2] Brown, „The history of the rise and progress of poetry". Newcastle 1764, p. 11 sq.

literature. The fondness of the Arabians for poetry — it is Sir W. Jones, who makes this remark — and the respect which they show to poets, would be scarcelybelieved, if we were not assured of it by writers of great authority; the principal occasions of rejoicing among them were formerly, and very probably are to this day, the *birth of a boy*, the *foaling of a mare*, the *arrival of a guest*, and the *rise of a poet in their tribe*. When a young Arabian has composed a good poem, all the neighbours pay their compliments to his family, and congratulate them upon having a relation capable of recording their actions, and of recommending their virtues to posterity..... The most excellent of these poems were hung up in the temple, whence they were named *Moallakat* or Suspended; the poems of this sort were called Casseidas or eclogues, and are considered as the finest that were written before the time of Mahomet; the fourth of them, composed by Lebîd, is purely pastoral. The poet begins with praising the charms of the fair Novâra; he then interweaves a description of his young camel, and takes occasion afterwards to mention his own riches, accomplishments, liberality and valour, his noble birth, *and the glory of his tribe*, etc., etc.[1]

Let us now turn from these various examples of tribal or „clan"-literature, to the second period in the life of a people, the development of what Mr. Posnett calls the city commonwealth. He has himself chosen the city of Athens and its dramatic literature, and surely, no better example could be given of the close relations between social and literary development than the splendid and sudden growth of the literature of Athens.

If we consider the history of the drama, together with the history of the people, we can easily understand why Rome could not produce a national dramatic literature, like Athens. It is not only the practical spirit of the Romans, totally different from the Greek genius, which explains this fact[2], we ought not to forget that Rome was an

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[1] Sir W. Jones, „Essay on the poetry of the Eastern nations". (Poems, consisting chiefly of translations, etc.), Oxford, 1772, p. 183 sqq.

[2] The Dutch scholar Dr. Doorenbos remarks: „It is interesting „that we have borrowed the word *realism* from the Romans, and the „word *idealism* from the Greeks". (Hist. of literature, p. 111 note).

aristocratic commonwealth, where some distinguished families devoted themselves wholly to the state, but where also those very families only derived profit from that devotion. There remained always a very severe separation between the various parts of the population; the only national literary product was the „satura", the rough and fierce and violent satirical prose and poetry, renewed by Horace in the times of the Empire. Perhaps Plautus could have made a national comedy for the Roman stage if he had worked under better conditions, and his plays are of the greatest importance not only for Latin literature, but also for a comparative study, because they have exercised such an immense influence upon the dramatic literature of other nations. As Plautus made use of his Greek predecessors (Philemon and Diphilus) [„Philemon scripsit, Plautus vortit barbare", as he confesses himself], so the comic and dramatic poets of later periods and of other nations made use of the plays of Plautus, and everybody knows something of the relations between the Roman and the modern comedy. Great poets of modern times have chosen his plays, to imitate and to alter them for their purposes; amongst others Plautus has been the model for Shakespeare in England (Comedy of Errors), Molière in France (L'Avare), Ariosto in Italy (La Cassaria, an imitation of the Aulularia), Lessing in Germany (Der Schatz), and Hooft in the Netherlands (Warenar). But to return to our subject, even the popular and funny comedies of Plautus have not realised a national stage in Rome, for the simple reason that the great separation between the patricii and the plebeii, in its growth and evolution, did not favour the development of such a national product. The only national play, if it deserves that name, in Rome seems to have been the so-called „Atellanae fabulae", a kind of harlequin's play with fixed characters. [1]

Turning from Roman to modern European literature, we nearly always can see that a mighty development of a city and of a state (one being the nucleus of the other)

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[1] Cf. Teuffel's Römische Literatur (1875), p. 13 sqq. Lannoy, Essai sur les Atellanes (Louvain 1850), etc. — Above all cp. the preface to the Lays of Ancient Rome, by Lord Macaulay, London 1884, 8°. p. 1—26.

is accompanied by the development of a more or less dramatic literature. The plays of the greatest Roman-Catholic author, Calderon, show the most flourishing state of Catholic Spain, and the glorious reign of Queen Elisabeth (1558—1603) may be considered together with the glorious writings of Shakespeare. According to the chronological list of the New Shakespeare Society the earliest play (Love's Labour Lost) dates from 1588, and the last one, Henry VIII, from 1613; but Shakespeare (as is generally known) had his predecessors, John Heywood, John Still, Thomas Norton, Thomas Sackville, Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe and many others; and so we can say in general that the great political and social development of England has produced the most flourishing state of *English* dramatic literature. The Blackfriars' Theatre in London dates already from 1576, and in the reign of James I. there were already 15 theatres in London. During the performances there was a great liberty and licentiousness, as there was also a close relation between the actors and the public. Many poets were actors themselves, they lived the very life of the people and of the city, and so this literature reflected, like a mirror, the wonderful growth of that English city-commonwealth, which (together with the Dutch republic and Germany) decided the victory of Protestantism, and the future of Europe.[1]

The law of logic is that the same causes always have the same results, and so we ought not to wonder that everywhere in Europe, where a wealthy city, or a league of different wealthy cities — the growth of a republic or kingdom — formed itself, there is also a rich development of a literature, which becomes more national, in proportion to the more or less close relations which exist between the different parts of the whole. Shelley says: „The mass of capabilities remains at every period materially the same; *the circumstances which awaken it to action perpetually change.* If England were divided into 40 republics, each equal in population and extent to Athens,

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[1] Cf. J. Payne Collier's „English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the stage (1831—1879)", according to Dr. Doorenbos now still the best guide to the history of the old English stage. (Hist. of Lit. II 141).

there is no reason to suppose but that, under institutions not more perfect than those of Athens, each would produce philosophers and poets equal to those who (if we except Shakspeare) have never been surpassed. We owe the great writers of the golden age of our literature to that fervid awakening of the public mind which shook to dust the oldest and most oppressive form of the Christian religion. We owe Milton to the progress and development of the same spirit: the sacred Milton was, let it ever be remembered, a republican, and a bold inquirer into morals and religion. The great writers of our own age are, we have reason to suppose, the companions and forerunners of some unimagined change in our social condition or the opinions which cement it." (Preface to „Prometheus Unbound"). We can follow this line from the middle ages till the great French Revolution, when the first ideas of man beyond the limits of nation and language („les droits de l'homme") were uttered and spread all over Europe. There have always been, of course, a small number of great poets and thinkers, forerunners, so to say, who do not only belong to national, but also to international, to world-literature; germs of these broad ideas occur in Dante as well as in Shakespeare and others, but on the whole the writers of this period, even the most illustrious ones, reproduce nothing but the social conditions of their age and their time. Literature must remain, or become, more and more national in those countries, where the king (like Louis XIV) could say „The state, that am I" (L'état c'est moi"). This rule is better reflected, of course, in tragedy than in comedy; more in Corneille and Racine than in Molière; because tragedy addresses itself to the highest classes of society, and to the court, whereas comedy is of a lower order, and can better be appreciated even by the uncultured mass of the people. But nevertheless the evolution of both comedy and tragedy is always closely connected with the social conditions of the people, that produces it.

When Amsterdam — to give another example, taken from the unknown, but very old and rich Dutch literature — was one of the wealthiest and greatest commercial cities of Europe, it produced also a comedy and a tragedy, perhaps not of superior order (the Calvinistic spirit does

not encourage dramatic development), but at all events very remarkable. [1] The really national comedies of Gerbrand Adriaensen Bredero (1585—1618), and the 32 tragedies of the great Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587—1679), whose life runs parallel with the most glorious periods of Dutch history, illustrate all, more or less, the greatness of Amsterdam, the Venice of the North (as Frenchmen call it), of a people new-born by the struggle for liberty and independance, and so the growth, decline and fall of the Dutch republic explains the growth and the decline of the national literature in the Netherlands.

Let us now pass from the various national literatures of Europe to the germs of the highest development, i. e. of world-literature, which can be found at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Between these two periods there is again a period of transition, which can be best studied in Engeland and France (Germany being still in that time a conglomeration of small provinces, without any great unity, Prussia excepted). This period of transition is very interesting, but we cannot follow its evolutions here; we only cite the words of a very learned Dutch historian who makes the following remarks about the political and literary history of England, before the great revolution. „Nowhere was there a greater interest in the political condition of the country, than in England. Most of the literary men devoted a great part of their avocations to publish their ideas about the state, society, and morals. Their writings, for that reason, miss perhaps an ideal background, but the reader is much more affected by them, because they describe the life which surrounds him. The same qualities are not found amongst the French or the German writers of this period, simply because in these countries political life was not developed

[1] As Vondel says in one of his beautiful poems: „Aan d' Amstel en het IJ, daar doet zich heerlijk open, Zij die als Koningin de kroon draagt van Europe" — and many other examples from Dutch literature can be quoted. We may say, that the greatness of Dutch literature goes together with the greatness of the capital Amsterdam [this does not apply to Flemish literature, well described by Delepierre, the scene of which is mostly in Antwerp, or Ghent, or another Flemish city of the Southern Netherlands].

at all, or at least not so developed as in England [Remember for instance that even in the beginning of this century, in Napoleonic times, Goethe sat calmly in Weimar, writing his „West-oestlicher Divan", while the guns were roaring in the neighbourhood of his native city!] This observation must be applied above all to Daniel Foe (or Defoe) and to Jonathan Swift, so that it even remains doubtful whether these two authors ought to be classed among the political, or among the literary men of their own times. [1]

But the real germs of a world-literature is found especially in France, before what I always call the great revolution, because this gigantic movement in Europe, with all its aberrations and the reaction that necessarily followed it, will remain for ever one ot the greatest accomplishments of the human race. France, with its vivacity, wittiness, superficiality and amability, the French people, that strange mixture of Celts and Romans, which retains to the present day those two striking qualities, already observed by Caesar [2], thirst for military glory and the desire of saying witty things — France has produced some great writers, greater still by the influence of their ideas upon Europe than by their own depth or talents. We must mention above all Voltaire and Rousseau, as their writings are of the greatest importance for every one, who considers literature mostly from a social point of view.

Voltaire, in nearly all his writings, showed himself an enemy of clericalism, and we need only cite in proof of it the verses of his first tragedy „Oedipe", first brought on the stage in 1718:

„Ces organes du ciel sont-ils donc infaillibles?
„Pensez-vous qu'en effet au gré de leur demande,
„Du vol de leurs oiseaux la vérité dépende?
„Non, non, chercher ainsi l'auguste vérité
„C'est usurper les droits de la divinité!
„Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense,
„Notre crédulité fait toute leur science".

These words, and all similar passages, attack not only

[1] W. Doorenbos, Engl. Literature in his: „Hist. of Lit.", II 323.
[2] De bello Gallico: „Tota Gallia duas res religiosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui." — The Celtic influence ought to be studied more than it has been done till to-day. (cf. Bleek's Essay, Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache).

the French clergy, but the clergy all over Europe [1], and because French language and literature were most popular everywhere the ideas uttered by Voltaire were not national but international, Paris becoming for some time the city of cities, and the centre whence a world-literature was spread all over Europe. It is true that neither Voltaire nor Rousseau lived in Paris for a long time, but still Paris was and remained the great literary centre, it was to Paris that all eyes turned, it was in Paris that the greatest social and literary revolution of all ages and times was gradually prepared. [2]

Still greater perhaps was the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau, born in 1712, about whom the French critic Géruzez, who does not belong to his admirers, uses the following expressions: „Son style a du nerf et de l'éclat, de la véhémence et de la pureté, et on peut dire qu'il a manié notre langue avec une puissance qu'on n'a point surpassée, et qu'il lui a donné une physionomie nouvelle, sans la dénaturer. Son influence a été immense". — Rousseau's treatise „Upon the origin and the foundations of inequality amongst men" („Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes") was a protest against the higher classes of European society, and an attack upon the contemporary state. He preached the return to nature, in an overwhelming style, and his books gained the widest influence, because they expressed the social

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[1] It is remarkable — says an English Christian writer — that twice, in his best tragedies, the good taste of the poet should have triumphed over the repugnance of the unbeliever, and drawn from Christianity some of his greatest beauties. Je tâcherai — he writes — de jeter dans cet ouvrage (Zaïre) tout ce que la religion chrétienne semble avoir de plus pathétique et de plus intéressant, et tout ce que l'amour a de plus tendre et de plus cruel. Voilà ce qui va m'occuper six mois; quod felix faustum musulmanumque sit." (Corresp. Générale).

C. Bridge, French literature, 1884, p. 233.

[2] Compare Beaumarchais' „Le Mariage de Figaro" (1781), which contains the following passage: „Parceque vous êtes un grand seigneur, vous vous croyez un grand génie! Noblesse, fortune, un rang, des places, tout cela rend si fier! Qu' avez-vous fait pour tant de biens? Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus." — These passages, and many others, show a literary revolution, as great as the social one which followed.

feelings and hopes of a whole new class of men and women, and discontent with so many bad abuses in the actual state of society. His „Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse" became the bible of free and natural love, and shows the influence of Richardson's novels and the English Spectatorial writings; his „Contrat social, ou principes du droit politique" (1764) became the bible of democracy; and his „Émile, ou l'Education" (1792), called by Goethe the natural gospel of education („Das Naturevangelium der Erziehung"), which begins with the following words „Tout est bien, „sortant des mains de l' Auteur des choses, tout dégénère „entre les mains de l'homme", a work in which Rousseau worked out more or less his ideas about education and religion, had the greatest possible influence.[1]

It is very interesting to study the French literature of the 18th century and to compare it with the social condition of the different classes of society. All the ideas of modern times, of the enlightened times as they were called (le temps éclairé) were found in the great Encyclopedia, published by Diderot, d'Alembert, and many others, between 1751 and 1766, a work the *editors* of which were thrown into the Bastille for 8 days, but which had such a great social importance and utility that the first edition consisted already of 30.000 copies, and that in the year 1774 already four translations of the whole had been published in Europe. All the mighty men on earth, from Frederick the Great to the Great-Inquisitor of Spain and the Khan of the Tartars hastened to buy a copy of this undertaking, the result of the collaboration of nearly all the famous and free-thinking French authors of that time. There were of course many differences of opinion, about religious matters as well as about other subjects, but in their hatred against tyranny and fanaticism each of them agreed with the others.

The influence of these and other writings upon the life

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[1] The third book of the Émile contains the famous „Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard", a kind of confession of faith, which caused much offence both to the devout men of all sects and to the materialists of his own time. [Joseph Texte has written a special book on „J. J. Rousseau, et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire."]

and the literature of the other peoples of Europe has been immense. A literary revival followed in different countries, everywhere there came a revolution in the ideas, in connection with the revolution in the social and political conditions of society. We can only briefly sketch this remarkable course of affairs.

In Spain the learned and noble Campomanes tried a revival against the lethargy encouraged by the Roman-Catholic priesthood; an effort was made to raise the Spanish dramå (Thomas de Yriarte, Jovellanos), but the excellence of former times could not be regained.

In Italy also there rose some great and noble men, stirred by the new social spirit of the time; we need only mention the great Beccaria, whose work upon offenses and punishments („Dei delitti e delle pene", published anonymously, first in 1764) was translated into nearly all the languages of Europe. But his works and those of other contemporary writers do not perhaps belong to literature in the narrower sense of the word, like the comedies of Goldoni, who followed Richardson and Fielding, and published a great number of plays, very popular in their own time. The social spirit of modern times can be best seen in Vittorio Alfieri (died 1803), who never forgets to proclaim his fervent love of freedom, and who became the reformer of the tragic stage in Italy.[1] The influence of the ideas of the Revolution has also been very great in modern Greece, and it is not accidental that the rise of this people against the domination of the Turks was prepared in the age of Voltaire and Rousseau, of Marat and Robespierre. Corais, the modern Greek „Luther", lived in Paris, and the influence of „l'esprit gaulois" can be observed everywhere in the literature of modern Greece.

All these germs of world-literature belong to the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. All the great countries, into which the ideas of the Revolution penetrated, have produced some writers, who represent a true picture of that heaven-attacking time, of all the pessimistic inclinations of the age, of all the social pro-

[1] Cp. Centofanti, Sulla vita e sulle opere di Alfieri (Firenze 1842), Teza, Vita, giornali, lettere di Alfieri (Firenze 1861), etc. etc.

blems which our century, and the next, are beginning to solve. I shall only name Byron and Shelley in England, Goethe and Schiller and the modern school in Germany; a comparison of their writings, and especially of the social and political problems treated by them, is very interesting. Into the smaller countries, like Holland, party-questions penetrated of course, but a mere comparison of the writings of Willem Bilderdijk, the greatest Dutch poet of those times, shows that such a small country could only partially share in the great movement, not follow immediately the currents of the time.

About Byron and Shelley and their contemporaries, as well as about Goethe and Schiller, much can be said, but I will trace only a few short lines, leaving it to special study to work out this comparative subject. [1]

The whole opposition of modern thought against all the conservative elements in society can be found in Byron's works, especially in his inimitable master-piece Don Juan [2] It would be somewhat superficial to call it a frivolous and sensual poem, though of course sensuality, and the mighty passions of men, play a great part in it; I should rather like to call Don Juan a master-piece of modern European thought and feeling, a product of that modern spirit of world-literature which embraces the whole world, a poetical protest of a man of the 19th century against all the cant and all the hypocrisy of society, a forerunner of German works of the last years like Max Nordau's „Die Lügen der Gesellschaft", and many others. The same can, to some extent, be said of Shelley, of his hymn on

[1] Karl Bleibtreu's book upon Byron seems to me a very good one. Compare also the bibliography given by J. Scherr, Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur (1881) II 86 Note. Upon Shelley in the same work II 102—103 (with the sonnet of Herwegh).

[2] Scherr says: „Das umfassendste werk Byrons, wie sein reifstes. Mit spielender Schöpferkraft beherrscht er den gewaltigen Stoff, mit souveräner Meisterschaft gebietet er bei Behandlung desselben allen Dämonen seiner Poesie.... Witz, Spott, Hohn, herbster Sarkasmus, schneidende Satire, jauchzende Blasphemie, Wollust und Grausamkeit, bitterste Welt- und Menschenverachtung wirbeln im bakchantischen Tanze dahin." (Allgem. Gesch. d. Lit. II 91). — Goethe says: „Don Juan is a thoroughly genial work, misanthropical to the bitterest savageness, tender to the most exquisite delicacy of sweet feelings, etc. etc." (Byron's Works, Lond. 1837, p. 587).

liberty „Prometheus Unbound", of his great poem „The Revolt of Islam", and his other wonderful writings, but there prevailed of course a great difference between the two friends, Shelley being a phantom among men, as he describes himself in one of the stanzas of his „Adonais". [1]

A comparison between Schiller and Goethe, who both stand at the porch of the 19th century, is one of the most important objects of comparative literature. The history of Goethe's works and poems is the history of the life and thoughts of his own restless and turbulent time; and though Schiller may be called a truly national German poet, yet most of his ideas are international and belong really to world-literature, so for instance when he says in the prologue of his great tragedy Wallenstein:

„Und jetzt an des Jahrhunderts ernstem Ende,
„Wo selbst die Wirklichkeit zur Dichtung wird,
„Wo wir den Kampf gewaltiger Naturen
„Um ein bedeutend Ziel vor Augen sehn,
„*Und um der Menschheit grosse Gegenstände,*
„*Um Herrschaft und um Freiheit wird gerungen,*
„Jetzt darf die Kunst auf ihrer Schattenbühne
„Auch höhern Flug versuchen; ja sie muss,
„Soll nicht des Lebens Bühne sie beschämen".

In this passage, and in many others, not only the struggle for liberty and for freedom of Schiller's time is illustrated, but his ideas have also the same value for other, similar periods, and so they contain already the germs of what may be truly called „world-literature".

Nearly all the works and poems of Schiller are hymns to liberty and invectives against tyranny and oppression. But Goethe was still more comprehensive as a poet and a philosopher, and his „Faust", the great masterwork of German poetry, can be classed amongst the best works of world-literature, because it belongs not to the 19th century only but to all centuries, and becauses it tries to solve not only the problems of his time, but many other unsolved problems of human society.

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[1] 'Midst others of less note, came one frail Form,
A phantom among men; companionless,
As the last cloud of an expiring storm
Whose thunder is its knell, etc., etc.
(Adonais XXXI).

In the preceding lines I have tried to give a short sketch of different tribes and nations. considered chiefly from a social point of view, but this sketch of course must remain very imperfect. Only a few tribes, and some leading nations, could be treated, and some examples given from writers, who are not unknown to a distinguished audience. But my main scope has been to prove by examples, taken from various nations and from different epochs, the exactness and the truth of the principles, laid down in Mr. Posnett's work; to prove that literature is not a „Spielerei", not a matter of mere amusement, but a very serious object of scientific study, and a necessary link in the whole vast domain of science.

The great difficulty of these studies is, to discern the works which belong to literature in the more special sense of the word, from those which do not belong to it, or rather those works which only partly belong to it. Taken in the widest sense of the word, modern literature ought to comprise all printed works, published since the invention of printing, but we have to limit ourselves as much as possible, according to the French proverb „qui trop embrasse mal étreint", and, besides, we can confine ourselves to the general works of the great writers and thinkers of different nations and times, considering in the second place only those special contributions te knowledge, which are often treated without the slightest art, or written in a horrible style, as if there were no necessary connexion between art and science and knowledge, between facts and ideas on one side, and the manner of expressing them on the other.

But turning aside from this important question, we can state as a result of our inquiries that the political and social, or rather the social and political, history [1] of the

[1] Because the political forms, government, etc. are partly the result of the actual social conditions, as is admirably shown in a treatise of Karl Marx upon the Second Empire (Napoleon III), „Der 18 Brumaire", first published in Hamburg 1869. — There is still an other question, viz. the question of „form" in literature, taken from what we may call the aesthetic point of view, to which we will devote a special chapter of our lectures. An authority like Professor Mahaffy says, for instance, of Egyptian literature: „An honest critic must confess that a „sense of *form* in literature, such as the Greek possessed so „perfectly, is almost totally absent from Egyptian writing" (Prolegomena to Ancient History, Lond. 1871, p. 411)

nations must be treated together with the history of their literature, and that the one cannot be separated from the other, as is often done in former works both on history and on literature. And a second important result is, that literature ought to be studied comparatively, and that the primitive literary or even not literary, that is to say unwritten, products of the most remote tribes and races can throw much light upon the literary evolution of more civilized, European nations. To that primitive literature a special chapter of our lectures will be devoted.

THIRD LECTURE.

## The literature of different tribes and nations, considered chiefly from an anthropological point of view.

This chapter must of course be a very imperfect one, because it is so very difficult to point out the relations between anthropology and literature. Even about the most primitive literature we have seldom so many authentic evidences as, for example, about the early natural history of mankind, about early social institutions, etc. It is true that comparative philology and mythology have made an immense progress, that there are now many anthropological societies with their regular periodicals, publishing an overwhelming mass of material. But for primitive literature very much remains to be done. [1]

We learn about our common ancestors, the Aryans, that they knew houses and settlements and towns, with walls. They lived from agriculture, and knew at least two kinds of corn or grain. Besides this, they knew the breeding of cattle, and perhaps some primitive trade. — They knew also some metals. gold and silver, and what is called the third metal, perhaps iron. Amongst their home

[1] A very good introduction to Anthropology is written by Prof. E. B. Tylor, and published, with ill., in London and N. York 1892. 8o 448 p. — Cp. the chapters on races of mankind, on language, on language and race, on writing, on arts of life, on history and mythology, etc. etc.

occupations we find words for: to cook, to bake, to roast, to cut, to plat, to spin, to weave, to sew, to dress, to pound, to knead, to form, to stitch, to paint, to adorn; and for: meat and juice, honey, beam, wool, and other objects, which enable us to form an approximative idea of their early life.[1] They knew probably the sea, or at least they knew great masses of water, and built ships with rudders. They had a primitive religion with various deities. Many names of family-relations prove that there must have been a family-life amongst the Aryans, and they must have had some knowledge of the division of time into months and years, of domestic and of wild animals, of birds, trees and plants, of weapons, and of a government (with a common name, perhaps, for father or king, and for mother or wife or queen). But when Benfey, who was one of the first to draw such a sketch of early Aryan life (1868), remarks: „They painted and made verses, especially hymns" („Sie malten und dichteten, speciell Hymnen"), we ask if there is not some strange confusion between the early period of the Rig-Veda-hymns, known to us, and a much more primitive period, of which we should like to have some remains. Unhappily, we can only guess that there has been some primitive literature before the Rig-Veda-period. It is true that the Rig-Veda hymns have the greatest possible value, as a specimen of the first known poetry of a part of our ancestors, but this Vedic poetry is not wholly uncultured, and there must have been a very long period before the times, in which-these hymns came into existence, I mean a period in which the very germs of primitive Aryan literature must be stated. But of this period we know nothing, and the same must be said of what the Germans call the „Indogermanische Grundsprache", which is very

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[1] According to Max Müller, Biographies of words, and the home of the Aryas, p. 168 and passim. Compared with Fick, Wörterbuch der indogerm. Grundsprache (with Benfey's Preface), and Fick's later works. — As far as regards the sea, cp. my essay on the modern Greek word πελάγ(ι) in the periodical „Hellas", VI 1 (1896).

remote from the origin of Aryan speech. [1]

One of the German editors of the Rig-Veda-hymns, Oldenberg, has devoted a special study to the text and the metres of this oldest document of our Aryan ancestors, and comparing the Avesta with the Rig-Veda he points out that the literature of both races, the Indian and the Iranian, proves not only the primitive unity of these races and of their religion, but also that there has been a primitive and common religious poetry. We cannot but fix the attention of our readers upon this subject, which is very interesting for anthropology also, as the origin of metre is closely connected with the question of the origin of music, of danse, and of primitive civilisation in general. [2]

Many interesting anthropological facts can be the result of the study of primitive literature; as a second example, as far as regards the Indo-European (or Aryan) races, I only cite the comparative study of Greeks and Celts, and of their old legends and mythology. Both Greeks and Celts seem to have passed through a stage of agricultural ritual sacrifice, in which the Greek Dionysos and the Irish Tuatha de Danann mythologies have their root. Mr. Alfred Nutt has written an essay upon this subject, and his results as regards the Aryan world generally, as regards Greece, and as regards Ireland, deserve the attention of every one, who takes interest in the literary evolution of these two Aryan races, which have occupied the two most remote parts of the islands of Europe. [3]

Let us now turn from the Aryan race to what I should like to call the American race or races, if I did not know

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[1] Cf. R. Roth's introduction to Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda, übersetzt von K. Geldner und A. Kaegi. Tübingen 1875. — And about the primitive Aryan speech the note of H. Kern, in his „Fidjitaal", Amsterdam 1886, p. 7 (Note)

[2] H. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda. Band I. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena p. 5. (in which he refers to the works of Usener, and of Geldner on the metres of the Avesta) Berlin 1888. 8o.

[3] The voyage of Bran, son of Febal, ed by Kuno Meyer. With essays by A. Nutt. (Grimm Library, No. 6). London. — cf. the Mabinogion, the Arthurian legend, and in general Celtic literature, as studied to-day. — cf. also A. Ellissen, Versuch einer Polyglotte der europäischen Poesie. Leipz. 1846. p. 10 sqq. Die Kelten (a very suggestive and interesting work).

that this title is perhaps too general, and that there are many yet unsettled questions in connection with the classification and the origin of the aboriginal races of North and South America. [1] The study of the nations of America is very interesting from an anthropological and from a literary point of view. Unhappily, the primitive germs of literature are somewhat neglected bij the most famous and distinguished ethnologists and scholars. Lubbock, for instance, brings a great deal of materials about art and ornaments, marriage and relationship, religion, character and morals, language and laws; and in his great work on the „Pre-historic times" he teaches us very much about the use of bronze in ancient times, the bronze age, the use of stone, the megalithic monuments and tumuli, the ancient lake-habitations of Switzerland, the Danish kjökkenmöddings or shell-mounds; about North-American archaeology, quaternary mammalia, cave-men, river-drift gravel-beds, in short about the physical antiquity of man. But in all these works we do not find much information about the mental condition of the, more or less savage, aboriginal tribes. About the art of writing he says: „There is no reason to suppose that the nations of America had developed for themselves anything corresponding to an alphabet. The art of picture-writing, which they shared with the Aztecs and the Quipa of the Peruvians, was supplemented among the North-American Indians bij the „wampum", i. e. variously coloured beads, generally worked upon leather." [2] Undoubtedly, what we know about picture-writing in North and South America throws much light upon primitive literature, but we have to consult other works to get more special information about the germs of literature, wich can be found in these prehistorical and partly historical tribes. The magnificent series of volumes, published bij H. R. Schoolcraft, and bearing the double title of „Archives of aboriginal knowledge",

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[1] cf. Brinton, Aboriginal American authors (1883), id. Library of aboriginal American literature, 8 vol. (1882—90) id. The American race, The native tribes of America (1891), etc. etc. — In my periodical Hellas (Leiden 1897) VI 4, Bibliography.

[2] Sir John Lubbock, Pre-historic times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages. Lond. 1878, p. 284.

or „Information respecting the Indian tribes of the United States" (published in Philadelphia 1852—1860), contain a mass of material, from which we can learn very clearly the relations between literature and anthropology.

We shall give some examples, taken from this book, and illustrating the primitive literature of the savage tribes of America, now dying-out fast but deserving the most accurate study of every student of comparative literature.

The following ancient Shawnee tradition is taken from the Letter-Book of the U. S. St. Louis Superintendency, Missouri, wherein it is indexed „A traditional story concerning the Shawnee and Kickapoo Nations". It is recorded May 8th, 1812, as being received from the lips of a Shawnee, named Louis Rodgers. It is (here) published as an original and authentic element of Indian opinion, and is probably one of their symbolical modes of narrating old events.... In a people [Schoolcraft adds], whose history is wholly verbal, it is only by closely watching and comparing what falls from time to time from the lips of their old speakers, that the archaeological student is likely to gain a true insight into their beliefs, mythological or historical; and where there is, from the peculiar mental habits of the tribes, so little to be got, the obligation seems the greater to put that little on record.

This Shawnee tradition runs as follows: „It is many years ago since the numbers of the Shawnees were very great. They were, on an important occasion, encamped together on a prairie. At night, one-half of them fell asleep; the others remained awake. Those who kept awake abandoned the sleepers before morning, and betook themselves to the course where the sun rises. The others gradually pursued their route in the direction where the sun sets. This was the origin of the two nations, the first of which was called Shawnee, and the other, Kickapoo. — Prior to this separation, these nations were considered one, and were blessed with the bounties of heaven above any blessings which are now enjoyed by any description of mankind. And they ascribe their present depressed condition and the withdrawal of the favours of providence, to the anger of the Great Being at their separation. — Among the many tokens of divine favour, which they formerly enjoyed, was the art of walking on the surface of the ocean, by

which they crossed from the east to America without vessels. Also the art of restoring life to the dead, by the use of medical arts continued for the space of six hours. Witchcraft and prophecy were with them at their highest state, and were practised without feigning; and in fine, such were the gifts of heaven to them that nothing fell short of their inconceivable power to perform. And after the Shawnees have wandered to the remoted west, and returned eastward to the original place of separation, the world will have finished its career. It is believed by the Shawnees, that the consummation of this prophecy is not far distant, because they have, in fulfilment of the prophecy, reached the extreme western point, and are now retrograding on their steps." [1]

As a second specimen of the most primitive aboriginal poetry of the Indians (po-etry from *πο-έω*, Greek „to make") we can take the copy of a written mythology of the Six Nations, from the pen of the late James Dean, of Oneida county, N. York. M[r]. Dean had, from the period of his boyhood, passed his life among the Oneidas, spoke their language fluently, was familiar with their manners and customs, and ever enjoyed their respect and regard. The Iroquois Cosmogony, as related bij him, runs as fellows: „An unlimited expanse of water once filled the space now occupied by the world we inhabit. Here was the abode of total darkness, which no ray of light ever penetrated. [2] At this time the human family dwelt in a country situated in the upper regions of the creation, abounding in everything conductive to the comfort and convenience of life. The forests were full of game, the lakes and streams swarmed with fish and fowl, while the earth and fields spontaneously produced a profusion of vegetables for the use of man. An unclouded sun enlivened their days, and storms and tempests were unknown in that happy region." [3]

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, Archives of aboriginal knowledge, Philadelphia 1860. 4o. p. 254—255. — Cp. with these wandering-tales the Greek tradition of the wandering of the Dorian tribes, etc. etc.

[2] Cp. the *Κιμμέριοι* in Homer's Odyss. XI, 14 sqq.

[3] Schoolcraft, Information etc. Vol. VI p. 666. With the last sentence Cp. Homer Od. VI, 22 sqq and Tennyson's description of the island-valley of Avilion in his „Morte d'Arthur": „Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow Nor ever wind blows loudly."

To these old tales of wandering (which can be compared with the wandering-tales of the Dorian and other ancient Greek tribes), and of an old happy period in the life of manhood (which can be equally compared with the tales in the Old Testament, with Ovid's flumina lactis, and other similar paradise-legends), we can add a few examples of the most primitive songs of these tribes, as recorded bij Schoolcraft. So, for instance, a love song of the Chippewa:

„I will walk into some one's dwelling
I will walk into somebody's home,
My sweetheart, into thy home
I will walk, in the night.
My sweetheart, in the winter
I shall walk into your abode.
This night I will walk into your lodge". [1]

Or the Song of the Okogis, or Frog in Spring:

See how the white spirit presses us,
Presses us, presses us, heavy and long,
Presses us down to the frost-bitten earth,
Alas! you are heavy, ye spirits so white,
Alas! you are cold, you are cold, you are cold.
Ah! cease, shining spirits that fell from the skies,
Ah! cease so to crush us, and keep us in dread,
Ah! when will ye vanish, and Seegwun return?" [2]

Many other specimens can be given, showing that the student of comparative literature has an immense field

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[1] Ningah peendegay aindahyaig,
We he he way (Repeat),
Ningah peendegay aindahyaig,
We he he way, (Repeat)
Nenemoshain aindahyaig,
Non dah debik, ningah peendigay,
He he he way, (Repeat)
Nenemoshain nondah pebön,
Ningah peendegay,
We he he way, (Repeat)
Nondah tibik ningah peendegay,
We he he way (Repeat)
Schoolcraft, Information etc.
Vol. V p. 559 sqq.

[2] Seegwun = the spring. — This song is given by Schoolcraft, Vol. III p. 329.

before him, only by studying these oral traditions of the Indian tribes. As well as the Greek tribes had their primitive and popular songs, of which we have only some titles and a few scanty remains, so the Indians had (and have to a certain extent) their medicine song, their corn song, the chant to the fire-fly by the Indian children, their songs of friendship. [1] Want of space does not permit us to cite more examples amply, but we cannot abstain from giving at least some mythological titles, and contents of oral tradition. In the first volume of Schoolcraft's work we find, besides Iroquois cosmogony and Pottowattomie theology, the allegorical traditions of the origin of men, of Manabozho, and of the introduction of medical magic; an allegory of the origin and history of the Osages; the island of the blessed, or the hunter's dream; the fate of the red-headed magician; the magic ring in the prairies; and the history of the little orphan who carries the white feather. — In the second part we find equally some oral imaginative legends, as: the transformation of a hunter's son into a bird, Mondamin or the origin of the Zea Maize (a Chippewa allegory), the wolf-brother, etc. — The third volume comprises the famous Iroquois tradition „Hiawatha" (bij A. le Fort), [2] known especially by Longfellow's imitation; the little Monedo, or Boy-man, an Ojibwa-tale; Trapping in heaven, a Wyandot tradition; The great snake of Canandaigua lake, an Iroquois tradition; and other specimens of the poetical development of the Indian mind.

We may also refer to Schoolcraft's chapters on Toltec and Aztec mythology in the sixth volume of his Archives; on the religious and mythological opinions of the Mississippi valley tribes; on Algonquin mythology and super-

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[1] Schoolcraft, Vol. V p. 563—564. cp. Hellas VI 1.

[2] „The classical reader will now and then trace a parallel between the Indian and the Greek mythology. In rude states of society physical strength and powers are admired almost to adoration; and just as the Greeks had their Hercules, and we have our Jack the Giant-Killer, so the Indians have their Hiawatha with magic mittens and mocassons, doing glorious battle with Mudjekeewis." — Prefatory notice to the poetical works of H. W. Longfellow, Edinburgh s. a. See also Tylor, Die Anfänge der Cultur, Leipz. 1873, I 340.

stitions; on the Indian theory of the action of the mind during sleep, etc. All these remains belong to the most primitive germs of human literature, and so does also their art of recording ideas, the so-called pictography, which shows that they have the same degree of development as our European children, painting the most grotesque figures on the walls or on their papers. Pictography, symbolical letters, mnemonic symbols for music and the like are in close relation to the invention of alphabets, and in the first part of his wort Schoolcraft has already given comparative views of the pictography of barbarous nations, in which the following examples are given: Chinese characters, founded on the picture-writing devices of the Samojedes, Siberians, Tartars; inscriptions from the banks of the Yenisei and the Irtish; rock inscriptions from N. Asia; system of the Laplanders; copies of the figures printed on the drums of the Lapland magicians with their interpretation; the device of the great drum of Torna; Iroquois pictography; and a specimen from Oceanica, i. e. a symbolical letter, from a native of the Caroline Islands.[1]

Among the primitive tales and traditions of the American race, and of other tribes, there is perhaps no one more interesting than the common tale of the „deluge", or „great flood" („Sündflut" in German), which occurs amongst various races and peoples. The word „Sündflut" is derived from sin-vluot = old-german „great flood" (the form Sindflut was used by Luther). The tale of the Old Testament (I Mos. 6) occurs in nearly the same form amongst the Chinese (Niuwa, who shut the heaven with a magic stone of five colours, the rain-bow), amongst the Jezids in Mesopotamia, amongst the Assyrians, as found in the cuneiform inscriptions, in America and nearly everywhere. The Indians of the Orinoco had a similar tale of the „time of the great flood", reported by Humboldt.[2] The same old tradition is found among the Araucans of

[1] Schoolcraft, Information etc. Vol. I p. 421, Vol. II p. 222 sqq. — Compare the Pitt-Rivers collection in the Oxford Museum (early writing), and other collections. cf. also in general: H. F. C. ten Kate, Sur la synonymie ethnique et la toponymie chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. Amsterdam 1884.

[2] See Diestel, Die Sündflut und Flutsagen des Alterthums, 2d edit. Berlin 1876.

Chili,[1] and among many nations of the great Malayo—Polynesian race. All these tales are very useful for a comparative study of primitive literature, but it seems dangerous to draw conclusions as regards a common origin of them, because we do not yet possess a complete and comprehensive collection of the materials. Some common traces, which are spread over the whole earth, do not prove a common origin. In his translation of an old mythological poem from the Philippines Professor Kern makes the following remarks: „If we compare the tradition of the deluge, amongst the Fijians, with the tale of the ancient Bikol poet, we do not find any traces of a common origin. The same can be said of the song „te taï toko" of the Marquesas-islands, and quite another version is found amongst the Dayaks of Borneo."[2]

We can easily multiply these examples, we can produce and compare many tales from the Bantu-tribes in Africa, taken from the books of Callaway („Nursery Tales of the Zulus"), Bleek („Reynard the Fox in South Africa"), Hölden (The past and future of the Kaffir races"), of Moffat and many others, but we do not desire to exhaust the subject. We have only to observe that the immense progress of anthropology in the second part of this century has brought not only a mass of material, but also much clearer and wiser ideas about savage tribes and about the relations, existing between their low state of culture and our more developed one. The great confusion of words and ideas, which still exists in our study of savage life in general, is well pointed out by Lady Welby, in a paper contributed to the Intern. Folklore Congress, 1891. If we compare, for instance, the book of a German, Rosenkranz, written in 1855 upon the history of poetry (Die Poesie und ihre Geschichte, published in Königsberg

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[1] C. Ochsenius, Chile. Land und Leute. Leipz. Prag 1884. S. 123: „Das Andenken der Sintflut hat sich bei ihnen erhalten."

[2] Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Ned. Indië. 's Gravenh. 1897, vol. III—IV p. 506—507, compared with F. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, p. 196, A. Fornander. An account of the Polynesian race I p. 225, and H. Ling Roth, The natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo I 300. — H. Brunnhofer, Vom Pontus bis zum Indus, Leipz. 1890 p. 142—146: Die Wanderung der Flutsage auf dem Hochland von Iran.

1855), we find only a few pages devoted to what he calls the natural tribes without any history („Die geschichtlosen Naturvölker"), and those cultured tribes which belong partly to history (Die halbgeschichtlichen Culturvölker"). His whole treatment of the subject shows that in the middle of this century a learned German, writing about the history, also the most primitive history of literature, could neglect nearly wholly the study of these aboriginal tribes, which are observed now by anthropologists with all the attention they deserve. The theory of evolution, as founded by Darwin, Haeckel and their school, begins to display all its influence and all its force, and the study of language and of literature profits by it. Linguistic science is already very much developed by means of the theory of evolution, although many scholars, even now, are very partial and one-sided as regards the Aryan languages, and the study of the African (Bantu) languages has not yet the place, which it fully deserves. And the scientific and comparative study of literature has to follow the same way, to observe carefully the very germs of literature amongst savage and partly cultured tribes, and to remember always the fact that the highly developed specimens of poetry and prose of our highly civilized (and even „fin-de-siècle") time must be traced back to its origin, and are only the result of a long evolution, showing the gradual and slow progress of our mental capacities.

Rosenkranz, who has published a long series of philosophical and literary works, is very un-philosophical in his treatment of the development of poetry. After having referred to the various songs of aboriginal tribes (love-songs, dance-songs, war-songs and elegies, which he could have compared with the myrologia of Homer, etc.) he remarks about the black or Aethiopian race: „The negroes dance with pleasure, but they have never raised themselves to artistic freedom." („Die Negervölker tanzen gern, aber nirgends haben sie sich zur künstlerischen Freiheit erhoben"). But the author forgets that the true liberty of art, as shown by some of the greatest modern artists, and taught so well by the great German poet Goethe („In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister", and „Wer Freiheit will, muss sich zusammenraffen", and other similar quotations), can only be the result of a long series of

exercises and of great refinement, and that the history of dancing, as part of the history of literature, ought to proceed from the most uncultured and embryonic forms. To reach a state of artistic liberty, the negroes have to go through a series of transitions, and this anthropological evolution goes hand in hand with the evolution of their literature, as shown in their songs, their dance, etc. In the Anabasis of Xenophon there is a curious passage, describing the war-dances of various tribes of Paphlagonia, and these can be compared with the dances, described by Livingstone at the occasion of the reception of the African chief Schinte [1] This of course is a very natural fact, as „the same causes always bear the same results", and as the African tribes of to-day seem to have nearly the same state of civilisation, or rather of barbarism, as those Asiatic tribes in the time of Xenophon, four centuries before the beginning of our Christian era. But to complain that those negro-tribes have not yet reached a true artistic liberty („künstlerische Freiheit", which is a very good definition of the capacity of a modern artist), as Rosenkranz does in his work, is to deny the lessons of history, and to apply the standard of a higher and later period to a lower, earlier period; in short, it shows that the scientific study of literature is yet in its infancy, and that the immense material, gathered by modern anthropology, must first be well known and *above all* well selected, before the necessary „Vorgeschichte" of literature can be written.

Rosenkranz, in the same chapter of his work, deals also with what he calls the yellow race (Brazilian Indians, N. American Prairie-Indians, Malays of the Archipelago, Siberian Mongols), and mentions the fact that their dances have been sometimes developed to masked plays and dra-

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[1] Xenophon's Anabasis, erklärt von F. Vollbrecht, Leipz. 1886. Anhang: Einen ähnlichen Tanz (VI, 1, 9) beschreibt Livingstone in seiner Schilderung der Aufnahme bei dem Häuptlinge Schinte (Missionsreisen in Süd-Afrika. Deutsche Ausg. Bd. I S. 331): „Ein Mann steht auf und macht alle Kämpferstellungen nach; er stellt sich, alsob er seinen Wurfspiess schleudre und einen andern mit dem Schilde auffinge, springt auf die Seite, als wollte er einem dritten ausweichen, läuft rückwärts und vorwärts, u. s. w."

matic pantomimes (giving as an example the society of *Areoi* on the Society-Islands, a troop that went from island to island and performed a kind of plays, called *Upaupa*). And the fact was not unknown to him that the ancient American states of Peru and Anahuak have possessed a rich poetry, that there has been a drama, connected with processions and dance, amongst the Aztecs, etc. Since his time, more attention has been given to this very neglected part of the history of literature, and Johannes Scherr, who has published a witty book upon general literature, devotes some space of his introduction to the ancient Aztecian and Peruvian civilisation, the culmination of which seems the American drama „Ollanta", if, at least, it is really genuine.[1] I will close this chapter with some observations upon the early history of the drama, firstly because the germs of the drama in general belong to anthropology as well as to literature, secondly because the history of the drama and the stage is one of the most important parts of the history of comparative literature, and thirdly because we know somewhat more about the evolution of the drama than about other chapters of literary history.

The Chinese drama seems to be very ancient and essentially primitive. The absence of all scenery on the Chinese stage — remarks an author — necessitates the awkward expedient of putting into the mouth of each character, as he appears on the stage, a monologue explaining who he is, where he is, and the object of his being there. In the same way a change of scene has to be indicated bij the actor announcing: Now I am at such and such a place. These interruptions materially mar the literary effect of a Chinese play, which otherwise is often not without merit. The best collection of dramas is known as the Hundred Plays of the Yuen Dynasty. The tone of it is purer than most of the modern dramatic writings, which are too often grossly indecent; but even in these many of the incidents introduced would — if judged by a European standard — be considered coarse. But, though the moral teaching

[1] Cp. Scherr, Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur, Stuttgart 1880, Bd. I p. 78 („das bedeutsamste Denkmal der voreuropäischen Zeit Amerika's").

may not be all that could be desired — the audience are yet taught that a sure Nemesis follows on evil deeds, and that to live happily one must live virtuously. — The primitive character of the Chinese plays, which sometimes seem to be not more than a puppet-show for children, is well shown in de Groot's Dutch work upon the annual festivals and customs of the Amoy-Chinese, in which we find a description of dramatic performances in honour of Heaven, of the God of War, of the Goddess of Earth, of deities in general, in the schools, at the summer-festivals, connected with the Buddhist masses for the souls, and on other occasions. [1]

The Japanese drama seems also to be very primitive, but we do not yet know much about it, as we have some translations of old Japanese myths, legends and romances (bij B. H. Chamberlain, F. V. Dickins and others), but not many of Japanese plays, at least not generally known. The same can be said about other races and nations, which possess more or less a primitive dramatic literature, but can be treated here only in a glance, as there are but a few translations of the texts, and as these translations are mostly unknown or scarcely accessible. So I only mention the religious drama of the ancient Egyptians — according to the opinion of Brugsch — of Hebrew literature, the book of Job can perhaps be called a dramatic poem — the Persian drama (i. e. a kind of mystery-play of the death of Husein, the son of Ali, and other plays) and the origin of popular Persian poetry; something is known also about the „Mitotis" or dancing-plays of the ancient Mexicans, and we have already spoken of that interesting American drama „Ollanta" (or „Ollantay"), about which there exist now some modern publications. A more or less primitive drama exists among the Javanese, and we have some remarkable specimens and translations of it; even in Cambodja the drama is represented, and according to a modern writer the dramatic plays are the best products of the literature of Cambodja. But all these

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[1] de Groot, Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken der Emoy-Chineezen. (Batavia 1880) p. 330—332, and passim. — cp. Klein, Geschichte des Dramas I 96. — Scherr, Geschichte der Literatur I 25, etc.

dramatic fragments, all these germs of a primitive dramatic literature, ought to be better known and studied, before we can compare them with the so highly developed theatre of the Hindûs, as illustrated by Wilson and others; with Greek and Roman tragedy and comedy, and with modern European dramatic literature. We can only recommend these investigations to the student of comparative literature, and now turn to one fixed subject, for which we choose the early popular Latin poetry, as treated by Mommsen and other illustrious scholars. [1]

The origin of Latin poetry must be traced back to those times, in which dance and play and song were not yet separated, but formed, as Mommsen remarks, a natural unity. In the oldest religious customs, he adds, dancing and playing have more influence than the song, and when he calls this fact remarkable („bemerkenswerth") we can only observe that the same may be said about so many savage tribes in different parts of the globe, which can easily be compared with the primitive inhabitants of Latium. The origin of masks and of Latin popular comedy can also be illustrated by anthropological facts of other races, carefully observed in the last times. [2]

According to Mommsen the primitive elements of art

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[1] Here I give some literature for these subjects: Scherr, „Gesch. der Literatur" — Klein, „Geschichte des Dramas" — „Théatre Persan, ou Choix de téaziés, ou drames", trad. par A. Chodzko. Paris 1878 — Ludewig, „Literature of Amer. aboriginal languages", 1858 — v. Tschudi, „Kechuasprache". Wien 1853 — Abiñsâ. Een Javaansch tooneelstuk (Wajang)" door H. C. Humme. 's Gravenh. 1878. — Serrurier's contributions to the Javanese drama, 1883 — Hazeu's Dissertation — Prof. Niemann's art. in de „Bijdragen" 1895 (who cites Moura, „Le royaume du Cambodge"), etc. etc.

For the Indian drama especially: Wilson, „Select specimens of the theatre of the Hindus." Lond. 1871. Fritzsche, „Indisches Theater", and Boltz, „Vasantasena", in the periodical „Hellas" V 4 (1895).

[2] With this treatment of primitive Latin comedy ought to be compared the description of early Roman ballad-poetry, as given by Lord Macaulay, in his remarkable Preface to the „Lays of Ancient Rome", London 1884, p. 10 sqq. [Horatius, a lay made about the year of the city 360. — The battle of the Lake Regillus, a lay sung in the year of the city 451. — Virginia, in the year of the city 382. — The Prophecy of Capys, in the year of the city 479].

have been the same in Hellas and in Latium. First, the dance in arms, the leaping or jumping (triumpus, θριάμβος, δι-θύραμβος), the masked play of drunken men, full of wine (σάτυροι, satura), who were dressed with the skin of a goat or a sheep, and the flute, which accompanied those early dances. The comic dance, identified by Mommsen with the satura, must have been much older than the separation of the various Italian tribes, and belonged to what he calls the popular carnival (der Volkscarneval"). Naturally, different songs will always have accompanied these festivals, the dances were soon performed bij numbers, or by choruses of dancers, and with the song an action became combined. This action must have had the character of jest and irony, and often passed into extravagance. It is thus that arose not only the alternate songs, as they occur in the so-called *versus Fescennini*, but also the elements of a popular comedy, which found a splendid soil in Italy, as the Italians like very much external and comic utterances, and always amuse themselves with the play of gesticulation and with all kinds of mummery.

The same very ancient and popular origin must be attributed to the masks.[1] This question is closely connected with the so-called *Atellanae fabulae*, which bore their name from the little Campanian country-town Atella, and deserve more attention and study than is generally devoted to them. The Atellanian plays had from the earliest times the character of what the Germans call „Krähwinkeliaden", comic scenes of country life, but the figures in these plays soon became fixed types, which remained after their transmission to Rome. In the year 543 of the City (i. e. 210 before Chr.) Campania became a dependent part of the Latin territory, and the country was latinised. The figures of *Maccus* [the harlequin, who is stupid and a glutton, and who wears the ears of an ass], of *Bucco* [who always works with his bucca or mouth, who always eats, drinks and lingers. — The popular sense of the word

[1] It is unknown — says Aristotle — who it was, that introduced masks or prologues(?), or a multitude of players, and such like particulars." (Aristotle, „Poetic", transl. by Th. Buckley, Lond. 1850, p. 415).

bucca remains in the Roman languages, French „bouche", etc.], of *Pappus* [the good „papa" or father, an idle and foolish old man, who is always deceived by his wife and his son. The word itself shows that it is of very ancient origin, „papa" being without doubt a so-called child-word, cp. Tylor], and of *Dossennus* [a wise man, according to Teuffel derived from *dorsum*; who has the character of a swindler, the Italian *dottore* of to-day], were introduced into Rome, and they very soon became so popular that other types were added to them, such as *Manducus* [cp. the plebejan word *manducare*, to chew, whence is derived the French *manger*], *Mania*, *Lamia*, *Pytho* and others. — About the plays themselves the following may be remarked: The young Romans treated them as a kind of saturae, and used to play personally, and with masks. The greater part of the plays seems to have been improvisation, and the action was not artificial at all. The form was probably a medley of dialogue and songs in the ancient and popular metre, the so-called Saturnian verse. The quibbles, puns and jests were common and ordinary, accompanied by vivid mimicry, and the language used was plebejan and low.

With this description of Teuffel may be combined the opinion of Mommsen (who compares the *pantalone*, the *dottore*, the *pulcinella*, from whom the English Punch takes his origin, of the Italian „carnevale" in Naples and everywhere), that these fixed masks were an essential part of the oldest popular poetry of Italy and the Italian races, that they were not only connected with the most ancient dramatic plays, but that probably the masks themselves have been the origin of Roman comedy, and Latin play in general.[1]

It is to be regretted that the history of popular poetry and of primitive literature is so much neglected, because the evolution of popular poetry and of the dramatic art of a nation is the history of that nation itself. The German critic August Wilhelm von Schlegel as early as

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[1] So wird man die festen Masken an die Anfänge des römischen Schauspiels anknüpfen, oder vielmehr sie als diese Anfänge selbst betrachten dürfen". — Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. (1874), I 225. cp. Teuffel, Röm. Literatur (1875), p. 13 sqq.

the beginning of this century made the following right observations: „Amongst the various artistic talents of the Italian people the dramatic is in no way the essential one; and this defect they borrowed already from the Romans, in the same way as their sense for drollery and foolery of to-day must be traced back to the most ancient Roman times. The only genuine and original dramatic plays of the Romans were the fabulae Atellanae, and they were for the greater part mere improvisations, as simple and imperfect as the so-called commedia dell' arte of modern Italy, a kind of comedy with fixed masks. In the same manner the old Saturnalia contained probably the germs of the modern Carnival, which is a real Italian invention. Really Italian are also the opera and the ballet, theatrical festivities in which the dramatic significance is wholly subordinated to the music and the dance." [1]

But the Carnival is not only an Italian invention. Anthropology and comparative religion teach us that it is found amongst many peoples and races, although some forms, of course, may differ according to circumstances. A comparative study of the carnival, the masquerade, and the use of masks in general, cannot be confined to Europe, but must comprise all races and nations. It can throw much light upon the origin of the stage and of theatrical and dramatic performances in general. To change clothes, to use masks, is a very common and very ancient amusement, and festivities in which mummeries occur are very often combined with the beginning of the year.

In the afore-mentioned work upon the ceremonies of the Amoy Chinese we read that in the „tsung-gēw" processions, held in China on the 15th day of the first month, not only boys are seen, dressed like girls, but also various masked men. These processions are of very ancient date, and popular plays in which masks were worn in the shape of heads of animals, young men were dressed in the costume of girls, and similar mummeries occurred, are already described in old Chinese annals.

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[1] v. Schlegel, Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur. 2e Ausg. I. Theil. Heidelberg 1871. p. 40—41. cp. Flögel, Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen. New edition by Ebeling, Leipz. 1862, and other similar works.

The author of that ethnological work compares with them the European carnivals, and the „fêtes des fous" in France, celebrated also after the beginning of the year. Clavel in his French work on the history of religions says that the people dressed themselves in female clothes and in various strange mummeries, or like animals, in the same manner as it is done in China or Japan shortly after the beginning of the year. A passage of the Old Testament (Deuteronomium 22, 5) can teach us that the Jews also had the same mummeries, because otherwise they would not have been forbidden. And, to continue our quotations, the same is found to-day in Portugal (but without masks), in Hindustan, and in Birma.[1] The history of the carnival is the history of popular festivities, and partly also the primitive history of dramatic performances, in all parts of Europe, but especially in the Southern ones, and Christianity has only given some new names and new forms to this ancient custom of paganism, but could in no way change its character; on the contrary, it was obliged to adopt it fully and to acknowledge its ancient popularity. Some customs of Shrove-Tide and Shrove-Tuesday in Germany, for instance, like the „Schäfflertanz" in München, the „Böttchertanz" in Frankfurt, the „Metzgersprung" in München, are probably even in these modern days the remains of the old pagan times. And many examples of other countries can be given as an illustration of the same fact. The study of folklore, especially in England, is gradually becoming one of the most flourishing and interesting contributions to anthropology, and the material collected is already so immense that only the collaboration of different serious scholars can bring this work into a fixed system, and draw the lines of a primitive literary history of the human race.

Thousands of scholars have already studied the infancy of words, and it is true that the study of primitive lan-

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[1] de Groot, Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen I p. 112—114. — cp. v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Das festliche Jahr, Leipz. 1863. Fahne, Der Karneval, Köln 1853. — And, above all: Bibliographische Zusammenstellung der Quellen der Sitte und des Brauchs bei den Germanischen Völkern, in H. Paul's Grundriss der German. Philologie II Bd., 2 part, Strassburg 1893, p. 273 sqq.

guages solves many problems of history and of that history above all, which the Germans call Culturgeschichte, the history of civilisation. The value of the study of primitive languages (as done by Bleek and many others) cannot be overestimated. Bleek's little book, for instance, on the origin of language [Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache], written in German, with a preface by the famous E. Haeckel, and published 1868 in Weimar, is more useful and suggestive than many voluminous works on languages, published during this century. Emerson has somewhere characterized language as „fossil poetry." He evidently means that just as in some fossil, curious and beautiful shapes of vegetable or animal life, the graceful fern or the finely vertebrated lizard, such as perhaps have been extinct for thousands of years, are permanently bound up with the stone, and rescued from utter extinction — so in words are preserved beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and the feeling of past ages, of men long since in their graves, of men whose very names have perished. Language indeed is „fossil poetry", but it may be affirmed with exactly the same truth that it is fossil ethics, or fossil history. [1]

The study of primitive literature, as a part of anthropology, ought to accompany the study of primitive languages, or rather form an independent branch of science. But many prejudices ought to be shaken off, before a really scientific method of these studies can be introduced, we have to give up (for instance) our Western ideas when we deal with Eastern peoples, we have to understand clearly the relativity of literature, and we have always to compare the uncultured with the cultured, the embryonic with the higher and highest developed forms.

Ignorance often prevents us from having an impartial judgment, and oftentimes we find amongst savage tribes and more or less uncultured nations wise and beautiful ideas, uttered in an irreproachable and even in a fine

[1] R C. Trench, On the study of words. Lectures. London 1878. p. 5.

[Some very good observations, touching this subject in general, are to be found in Lady Welby's „The significance of folk-lore", Transactions of the Int. Folk-Lore Congress, Lond 1892, p. 395—407.]

literary form. I shall give two examples of this truth, taken from Indian literature (Indian in its widest sense), leaving it to the student himself to apply these ideas to the comparative study of literature.

In the Sanskrit drama Çakuntalâ (I take the transscription, used in Holland) the heroine Çakuntalâ, at the end of the play, makes the following remarks to herself: „O „felicity! My husband has not repudiated me without „reason. I do not remember, how my situation was. Yes, „now I remember it, I had brought that malediction upon „my own head, but I did not notice it, because my heart „was full of sadness on account of our separation. Oh! it „was therefore that my friends gave me the advice to „show the ring to my husband." — On these lines the Dutch translator, Professor Kern, makes the following remarks: „One will scarcely find in any literature lines so full of sweetness, simplicity and nobility of soul. What gives us a much higher idea of the poet's art is, that Çakuntalâ does not express with great consciousness the considerations of her pure heart, but that she utters these reflections carefully for herself alone. Indeed, there is nothing more impertinent, more full of affectation than the manner in which in the plays of Euripides or modern French dramatists beautiful words and expressions are trumpeted forth, so that everyone can hear them." [1]

This critical observation of Professor Kern, the Sanskrit scholar, translated by me from Dutch into English, does not only teach us that there exists a diversity of aesthetic feeling between the Hindûs, the Greeks and the French. It teaches us also that we cannot apply the same standard to Oriental and to Western literature, that there may be a high art in concealing sometimes our ideas from others, and that we have to study the real character of different races, their climate, their manners and customs, from the most remote times to the present day, in short that we have to study anthropology, to form a good critical judgment of the different productions of literature.

A second example, also taken from Indian literature,

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[1] Çakuntalâ of Het herkenningsteeken. Indisch tooneelspel in 7 bedrijven van Kâlidâsa. Uit het Sanskriet vertaald door H. Kern. Haarlem, 1862, 8°. p. 203 and p. 217 (note).

but from that part of India which is commonly called the Dutch East-Indies, is afforded bij the literature of the Macassars and the Buginese, inhabiting the island of Celebes (or Selebes), and known to us by the various works and translations of a Dutch scholar, B. F. Matthes. In the introduction of his „Specimens of Macassar and Buginese poetry", published in Dutch, he remarks that not only there is a wrong opinion in Europe concerning the mental development of these races, but that this is the case even among the Europeans, who dwell in the Dutch East-Indies themselves. The women of these races are generally much more cultured than the men, who do not care much about civilisation; and among the women — he remarks — some are found who are not only very skilful in female handicraft, but also in reading and writing their own literature. The same Matthes has published a chrestomathy of their national poetry, with a Dutch translation of most of their poems; and the following remarks of him I recommend to the attention of Western students: „I grant that the specimens, given by me, do not always bear witness of a refined, and especially of a Western taste; but it cannot be denied that they prove a great acuteness and ingenuity." [1]

From hundreds and thousands of works, spread all over the wide world, many other examples may be given, but it seems better not to multiply them. In science, method is the first thing, not the collection of fresh material often gathered without system or idea. According to what method has the student of literature to deal with anthropology, and what can it teach him? Before the invention of writing and before the beginning of pictography, which is a rude kind of writing, there have been oral traditions, which he has to collect, to classify and to study. He has also to observe the authenticity of the materials, as there are unhappily many falsifications. With the aid of these, he must try to form for himself and afterwards for others a primitive history, a *Vorgeschichte* as the Germans call it, of the literary deve-

[1] Eenige proeven van Boegineesche en Makassaarsche poëzie, door B. F. Matthes. Uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 6e Intern. Congres der Orientalisten te Leiden. 's Gravenhage 1883. p. 1—2.

lopment of mankind. Unhappily, the words literary and literature bring some confusion into his method, suggesting the wrong idea that literature is necessarily connected with letters, an alphabet and writing. The invention of alphabets brings a kind of crystallization to native prose and poetry, but it is only one important mile-stone in the literary evolution of nations. Another, not less grave difficulty for the student lies in the classification; it is already difficult to draw the lines of demarcation in the literature of historical times, and to confine within certain bounds those works, which seem to belong to literature in the higher sense of the word, and the publications which, more or less, are to be excluded from it. This difficulty of course takes greater dimensions as soon as we deal with the unwritten literature of unwritten languages.

Anthropology, so far as we have to deal with prehistoric times and uncivilized nations, can teach us the spiritual life of our ancestors, and of other tribes on earth, and the different germs from which all the kinds of poetry, and of prose afterwards, have sprung; but anthropology is not limited to uncultured nations only, it deals also with the physical condition of mankind of to-day, and as soon as the conditions of the brain will be better known, and the development of imagination and all the mental faculties will be reduced to certain laws, the science of literature will become a sister-science of anthropology, as illustrating the physical and the mental faculties of mankind.

## FOURTH LECTURE.

# The literature of different races and nations, considered from an aesthetic point of view. The development of the idea of the beautiful.

In the foregoing lectures we have tried to give a brief sketch of literature, considered from a social point of view, in connection with the social condition of society; and of literature, as part of the science of anthropology, illustrating above all the earliest development of literary capacities, the most primitive conditions of prose and poetry. Now we have to consider a third point of view, the aesthetical one, which is also of the highest importance, as the development of the idea of the beautiful is *the quintessence of all literature*, in the modern sense of the word. For the first point of view, we have to approach the literary monuments as historians, asking and investigating in how far they truly represent the period, in which the author lived; taking the anthropological standpoint, we have more or less to be anatomists, dissecting the various parts of literary history and showing the evolution of form and ideas; but in treating the development of the idea of the beautiful, we have to follow the artist. This only *seems* a contradiction, but in reality it is *not at all* so, to the scientific treatment of literature, because science and art are not two opposite ideas, but ought to be combined in the higher sense of the word. The interior

and the exterior side of a literary monument are really but one.[1]

With regard to literature, the French language makes a better distinction than English, calling it sometimes „belles lettres." We have also the word „belletrie", whence is formed the German Belletristik, a word also employed in other languages. This clearly shows that we always have to compare other languages and other literatures, if we wish to treat our subject in a scientific manner. As Mr. Texte says: „qui dit science, dit comparaison. A toutes „ces questions: qu'est-ce-que la littérature? quelle est la „loi de son développement? Dans quel rapport est-elle avec „la société? qu' est-ce qu' un genre? quelles sont les lois „de l'évolution des genres? qu'est-ce, en littérature, que „le progrès? quelles sont les principales classes d'esprit, „au point de vue esthétique? A ces questions il semble „bien qu' il n'y ait de réponse que par la littérature „comparée"[2] The comparative use of the word „literature" thus shows us that not all the printed books, not all the products of human mind and fancy, belong to literature.

But even the French expression „belles lettres" does not bring us much further. The French „beau" and „beauté" are akin to the English „beauty". What does the word mean? A pleasing assemblage of qualities in a person or object; a particular grace or excellence. So the dictionary says. This definition of course is somewhat imperfect, as all definitions are, but it contains the great truth that we ought to have an assemblage, a unity of qualities, in order to produce the effect of what we call „beautiful" in the modern sense.

This modern sense of the word did not always exist in previous times, and there is also a great relativity of literature, when it is considered from the aesthetical point of view. Times change, and we change with them, says

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[1] „As a subject of philological study the importance of the earliest known form of the English language cannot be overestimated, and much of what we possess written in it is also of great value for the matter. But the essential element of a literature is not matter, but manner. Here too, as in everything else, the soul of the artistic is form — beauty of form."
Prof. Craik, Engl. lang. und literature. p. 20.

[2] Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement, Paris 1893, p. 269.

the Latin poet (Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis). Besides this, there have always been in literature, as in the whole historical and social life of humanity, some currents, „Strömungen" as the Germans say, which deeply influenced aesthetical criticism and the idea of the beautiful in literary art. A Dane, Mr. Georg Brandes, has written a good book on the literary currents of the 19th century, which has been translated into several European languages. We can give another good example of these currents, this action and reaction, always appearing and always dissappearing again, in taking the literature of the so called „décadents" in France, a certain school of literature, very misanthropical and very mystical of which the poems of Paul Verlaine, who died some years ago, and of Baudelaire, are fine specimens. These men have their followers all over Europe, and so have also the realists, amongst whom Emile Zola stands foremost. All these writers are as highly recommended and admired by their fellow-poets and followers, as they are condemned and criticized by other literary artists and critics (cp. Brunetière's observations on Zola). What is beautiful in the highest sense for one party, seems ugly, even abominable, for the other. So we have to ask again: What is beautiful?

The great critics of all times, since antiquity, have tried to answer this difficult question. Longinus tells us that the most infallible test of the truly sublime is the impression a performance makes upon our minds, when read or recited. „That is grand and lofty, which the more we consider, the greater ideas we conceive of it; whose force we cannot possibly withstand; which immediately sinks deep, and makes such impression on the mind as cannot easily be worn out or effaced: in a word, you may pronounce that sublime, beautiful, and genuine, which always pleases and takes equally with all sorts of men." This fine observation of Longinus [it is the Rev. Dodd, who adds this] is most remarkably verified in Shakspeare; for all humours, ages, and inclinations jointly proclaim their approbation and esteem of him. [1]

[1] Longinus, „On the Sublime," sect. 7 (Smith's translation), as cited by the Rev. William Dodd, The beauties of Shakspeare, London s. a. Preface, p. IV.

But still the problem is not yet solved, we want still the right naming, that is the true significance of „beautiful" in literature, according to what Carlyle has said in his Sartor Resartus: „Not only all common speech, but science, poetry itself, is no other, if thou consider it, than a right naming". — So, after all, what is the right naming of belletrie, belles lettres, beautiful literature? — I think we shall reach some degree of truth by saying that there must be *a unity of the contents and the exterior form*, a higher artistic unity, which sometimes can be better felt than expressed, and that those works, to which both measures cannot be applied, do not belong to literature in the aesthetical sense of the word. This rule, of course, begins to show its value since the discovery of printing in Europe; in the ancient classical literature of Europe and Asia, and especially in the literature of aboriginal tribes (in so far as we can call it literature) no such distinction can be made. The reason of this fact simply is that highly-developed literary criticism dates from modern times, and not from the classical age; the critical school of Alexandria, to which we are indebted for the list of the „classical" writers, cannot really be called a school of aesthetical criticism.

It is true that Plato's and Aristotle's works contain already many aesthetical observations; it is well-known that we possess the Epistle to the Pisones, commonly called the Ars Poetica (Poetical Art) of Horace, in which the rules of poetry are laid down by him in a very clever manner. Above all Aristotle's treatise on poetry has had an immense influence;[1] not only it is felt in the Alexandrine school, in Horace, and in the whole of antiquity, but it gave birth to that theory of the three unities and in general to that classical tragedy, which flourished in France, and which (according to our opinion) has done much harm to the true and free development of dramatic art. Boileau imitated the Romans, and his Art Poétique became the law-book of French classicism; Boileau himself

[1] As a translation may be used: The Poetic of Aristotle-literally translated, with notes, etc. by Theod. Buckley. London 1850 (together with Aristotle's Treatise on Rhetoric). 8°, p. 407—473.

was called the legislator of taste (législateur du goût), and all his works were held in great esteem by his countrymen. This stiff and pedantic classicism has done much harm — we repeat it — to the real growth of true and living literature. [1]

Aesthetical criticism rather seems to belong to modern times, and in the 18th century no one has deserved a greater fame as a literary critic than Lessing in Germany, with his „Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie" (1766) and with his „Hamburgische Dramaturgie" (1767—68). Lessing and the numerous literary critics of the 19th century, who more or less followed his footsteps, have laid the foundation-stone of that great modern work, literary criticism, which has not to prescribe the rules of lyrical and dramatic art (as the old school tried to do), but has to follow its movements, to study its evolution, to explain its merits and its errors. Many critical writers of our modern times have contributed to the theory of the beautiful in literature, in England Charles Lamb and many others, in France Sainte-Beuve with his „Causeries du Lundi", in Holland Potgieter, Busken Huet, Pierson and Doorenbos, Jan ten Brink, van Hamel, Kalff, van Deyssel, Kloos and others, and in Germany excellent writers like Hettner, who have combined the history of literature with the general history of civilisation, the „Kulturgeschichte" of the future, in which literary criticism will play a very important part.

Now, after all these preliminary remarks, we have to ask: How has the idea of the beautiful been developed in literature? How have we to study literature according to an aesthetical method? Are there any modern rules of literary criticism, which we can apply generally, and which show an evolution in the idea of the beautiful?

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[1] Goethe himself, though admitting the famous precept of the Three Unities, refused to be bound by it. The Greeks themselves, from whom the rule came to us, he says (Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe, I 201), did not always follow it. The plays of Shakespeare offend as much as possible against the unities, etc. etc.

C. Bridge, Hist. of French literature, 1884, p. 303.

To a very imperfect answer on all these questions this lecture must be devoted.

The real development of the idea of the beautiful shows itself in the progress from national to international literature, and from classical literature in the old and traditional sense of the word to classical literature in the modern sense. Let us speak more distinctly. The further we proceed to ancient times, the more we see that beautiful passages and beautiful works in general possess a beauty, which is closely connected with the time, the language, the customs of the people, the climate of the country, the condition of the society, in which they were written; the poet, who nearly always was a singer and very often a composer of his own melodies [prophet — aoidós — vates — minstrel — minstreel, meistreel — troubadour — trovatore, etc. etc.], of course sometimes expresses general human ideas of happiness and of sorrow, and the like, but nearly always he does it unconsciously, and his language and scenery are essentially national. Take, for instance, the two great Sanskrit poems, the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata Or take the Bible of the Greeks, the poems of Homer. Or the Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament, or classical Arabian poetry, of which such fine specimens are given in Mr. Posnett's work. A great deal of their beauty consists in their adaptation to the proper time and the proper scenery, to which they belong and in which they are composed.

The same may be said of classical literature, that is to say of Latin and Greek, but essentially of ancient Greek literature. The word „classic" or „classical" means: of the highest class or rank, especially in literature, and (as is well known) it is originally and chiefly used of the best Greek and Roman writers, it has even — in progress of time — been opposed to romantic, and has acquired the meaning of: all things alike in style to the authors of Greece and Rome.[1] This is what we may call the traditional meaning of the word, and it is well known that the critical school of Alexandria has furnished

[1] Chambers' Etymological Dictionary of the Engl. language. New edit. by A. Findlater. London, Edinburgh 1895, 8°. s. v. „classic".

the first „canon" or list of authors, who deserve to stand foremost and to be read above all. Doubtless purity of language and style has exercised a great influence upon the critics of the Alexandrian school, not always the beauty of the contents. Our modern judgment about some of the so-called classical authors, whether read in schools or studied by scholars, sometimes does not agree at all with the opinion of ancient critics and of mediaeval times. [1]

So there is not only a great difference of opinion when we speak of the „classics", meaning Latin and Greek authors, but the words „classics" and „classical" have been applied to all those products of literature, which retain their value in the course of time, and which in consequence of that value have been taught in the schools, and translated into other languages. This fact shows a whole revolution in the idea and in the meaning of the word „beautiful" as well. So we speak nowadays of the Chinese classics (translated by Legge, the Oxford professor); we may perhaps also give the name of a classical work to the „Old Bamboo-Hewer", that old Japanese romance, which is probably the most ancient work of fiction extant of the whole Altaic race (according to Mr. F. V. Dickins, who has translated it); and we certainly speak of the „Deutsche Klassiker" and of the „Klassiker des In- und Auslandes", meaning those authors, whose works (seem to) belong to world-literature.

This development of the idea of the classical and the beautiful can be shown clearly from that literature, which may claim to be called above all classical, because it contains masterpieces of art of different times, and because its history can be traced back as far as ten centuries, and perhaps much more, before Christ. I speak, of course, of Greek literature [2]. Let me give some examples.

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[1] cf. A. Bain, „Over de studie der talen" in: *Paedagogische Bibliotheek*, onder redactie van J. Versluys, Groningen 1879. 8°. especially p. 44 sqq. [This is a translation, with many additions, of Prof. A. Bain's article on Education as a science, in the periodical „Mind" of 1877.]

[2] Compare the two volumes of my Historical Grammar of the Hellenic Language (Leiden 1891—92) written im German; the second volume of which contains a number of Greek texts with translations and notes, from the times of Homer to the present day.

The majority of scholars have very much neglected the study of so-called post-classical language and literature, which they falsely regarded as barbarous, and thus in my opinion a wholly new science has become necessary.

The idea should be fostered that many literary products of the Greek middle ages and of modern times might be called beautiful and even classical, whereas some works belonging to the really classical age do not deserve that name and are much over-estimated. „The Alphabet of Love" for instance, Rhodian love-songs, erotic poetry of the 13th and 14th century, may perhaps be classed amongst some of the masterpieces of classical poetry. Krumbacher, a good authority on mediaeval Greek literature, says: „Sie gehören zu den besten und merkwürdigsten Er-„zeugnissen der gesammten vulgärgriechischen Poesie", („they belong to the best and most remarkable products of the whole popular Greek poetry"), and the late Wilhelm Wagner, one of the greatest German philologists who also was well versed in English philology, writes as follows: „Auch sei es noch gestattet, am Ende aus den Briefen meines lieben Freundes, der ja selbst ein feinfühliger Dichter ist (D. Bikélas), sein Gesammturtheil über die hier zum ersten Male ans Licht tretenden Lieder herzusetzen. Er schreibt mir: *'Αληθῶς χαρίεντα εἶναι πολλὰ τῶν ᾀσμάτων τούτων. Οἱ ποιήσαντες ἠσθάνοντο, ὄχι ἴσως πολὺ πλατωνικῶς, ἀλλ'ὁπωσδήποτε ἠσθάνοντο, καὶ συχνάκις εὑρίσκουσιν ἐκφράσεις ὡραίας τοῦ πάθους των.* „Ich setze hinzu — Wagner continues — dass in manchen dieser Lieder eine ganz catullische Gluth der Empfindung lebt, und dass die Sprache sowohl wie die ganze Form der meisten derselben uns billig in Erstaunen setzen müssen, wenn wir bedenken dass wir es mit Producten des 14en Jahrhunderts zu thun haben. Manches Lied dieser Sammlung würde, wenn es in classischem Griechisch und antikem Metrum geschrieben wäre, als ein Meisterwerk lyrischer Poesie gepriesen werden! Freilich jetzt ist dies Alles nur barbarische Gräcität, und dann ist Alles gesagt!" [1]

Only the real development of the idea of the beautiful, teaching us that true lyrical poetry, the expression of

[1] As quoted in my Historische Grammatik, vol. 2. p. 73. (cf. also the Historical Greek Grammar of A. N. Jannaris.)

intense subjective feelings, belongs to all ages and times, and not only to the so-called classical lyrical poetry of Sappho, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Simonides and other ancient poets — many of whom we only know by rare fragments — this evolution of the aesthetical theory only can give us a sound and right judgment of the whole of Greek literature. Many scholars have been very one-sided especially in this respect. The famous Professor C. G. Cobet, for instance, did not acknowledge the value of post-classical Greek, which he treated with contempt (cf. his letters in Dutch, an edition after his death by his friends Prof. R. Fruin and Dr. H. W. van der Mey). Yet Cobet was one of the greatest of living hellenists.

Another good instance is furnished by the popular songs of Greece, so much admired by Goethe and Byron, and of late edited by various scholars, after having been brought out by the Frenchman Fauriel, the German Passow, and others.

These popular songs, some of which even Goethe translated („Das Grab des Dimos") are so numerous and so remarkable, that one might devote a whole chapter, nay more than this, a whole book, to the study of them. Some fine specimens of them, with translations, may be found in the second volume of my Historical Grammar, and here I only add a few words upon the Cretan songs and legends. These may be divided into several classes. First the *historical* ones, some of which go back to the tenth century. Secondly, the *religious* songs, relating to Church festivals, the angels and saints, etc. Thirdly, the *romantic* songs, dealing with the Klephts or brigands, and romantic adventures generally. Besides these we have the *myrologia* or *funeral songs*, the love songs and erotic distichs, and others, of which there is a very fine collection with vocabulary by the Cretan A. N. Jannaris, now professor of modern Greek in St. Andrews university, Scotland [1]. Very much of this poetry is worthy of admiration

[1] „*Ασματα Κρητικά* — Kreta's Volkslieder, nebst Distichen und Sprichwörtern." Herausg. von Anton Jeannaraki. Leipzig, Brockhaus 1876. 8°. 386 p. — cf. also *P. E. Drakoules*, Neohellenic language and literature. Oxford/London 1897. 8°. p. 24 sqq. (where many fine specimens are given. — These lectures have a great value, because they contain a very sound judgment

and may be called beautiful and classical, although it belongs to mediaeval and modern times; — it may be compared with the heroic sublimity of Homer, and it should never be neglected by any one who wishes to study Greek epic poetry. But this view is a modern one, it indicates the modern development of the idea and sense of the beautiful, and it is altogether contrary to the ancient and traditional interpretation of „belletrie", and the „beautiful" in literature.

Many other examples might be given, taken from ancient literature, when compared with mediaeval and modern Greek, but I do not wish to be too profuse. On the contrary I desire only to give some general rules and to arouse more study, leaving it to others to work out these principles and to show their importance.

Perhaps we cannot better study the evolution of the idea of the beautiful in literature than by taking, one by one, the different parts of it, the epic, the lyric poem, the drama, and so on, of different races and nations, comparing them, and trying to find out the international unity amongst the national differences.

The epic poetry of the various nations shows a great variety, but at the same time a very great resemblance. In the „Chandos Classics" an English translation of the epic poem Sháh Námeh of the Persian poet Firdausí has been published. He is perhaps — the translator remarks — the sweetest as well as the most sublime poet of Persia. In epic grandeur he is superior to his compeers, and he is besides one of the easiest to be understood.

The author of the Sháh Námeh has generally been called the Homer of the East, but the Greek and the Persian poet should not be placed in the same scale of excellence. Either may be more properly considered the best of his own country. Sir William Jones, in his essay on the

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on ancient and modern Greek literature. — cf. J. H. Freese, „A short popular history of Crete. With introduct. bij P. W. Clayden." London 1896. 8°. 165 p. — The 6th chapter of this little book contains Cretan songs and legends (p. 133 sqq.). But in this book, however valuable, some songs are recorded as „Cretan", which perhaps never have been Cretan at all, (for instance the war-song of Rhigas, already mentioned and translated by Byron).

Poetry of the Eastern Nations, does „not pretend to assert that the poet of Persia is equal to that of Greece; but there is certainly", he observes, „a very great resemblance between the works of those extraordinary men: both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them only from reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, the likeness of a likeness; and both possessed, in an eminent degree, the rich and creative invention, which is the very soul of poetry. There is another resemblance, which is, however, unconnected with their comparative merits; but it is one which has chiefly, I think, caused the Persian to be called the Homer of the East; the heroic poems of Firdausí are held exactly in the same estimation with reference to the works of other poets of Persia, as those of Homer are in the West. Like Homer, too, he describes a rude age, when personal strength and ferocious courage were chiefly valued, and when the tumultuous passions of the mind had not been softened and harmonized by civilisation, or brought under the control of reason and reflection. Firdausí is also as much the father of Persian poetry as Homer of Greek; but it would be little less than sacrilege to draw a critical comparison between the Sháh Námeh and the Iliad!" [1]

But why would it be a sacrilege? we are inclined to ask. Why cannot a comparison be tolerated between the Persian and the Greek poet? (or rather „poets", because the Homeric poems undoubtedly are the literary remains of a whole school of ancient bards). Why can the Eastern poet not be equal to the Western one? — It is this kind of literary criticism, which comparative literature must destroy, trying to find a new and sound basis of all literary art. The great German poet Schiller has written treatises upon the naïveté of the Homeric poems, as opposed to the sentimentality of modern art; and Homer contains, really, many incomparable passages and many immortal descriptions. But the same can perhaps be said

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[1] The Sháh Námeh of the Persian poet Firdausí. Transl. and abridged in prose and verse, by James Atkinson. Edited by J. A. Atkinson. London/New York 1886. 8°. 412 p. — Translator's preface, p. X—XI.

of the Persian epic poet. Scherr remarks: „Von erschütternder Gewalt zeigt sich Firdusi's heroisch-tragischer Stil insbesondere in den Geschichten von Feridun und seinen Söhnen, vom Untergange des edlen Sijawusch, von dem Tode des herrlichen Heldenknaben Sohrab, in welchem der verzweifelnde Rustem, erst nachdem er ihn erschlagen, seinen Sohn erkennt, und endlich in der Darstellung des Kampfes zwischen Rustem und Isfendiar. Erhabener Tiefsinn spricht aus der Sage von Kai-Chosru's Entrückung, in allen Zaubern romantischer Phantastik schwelgt die Erzählung von Kai-Kawus' Zug nach Masenderan, anschaulichste Schlachtenmalerei zeigt die Schilderung des Streites der zwölf Helden, und eine der schönsten Liebesgeschichten, welche jemals ein Dichter erzählt hat, ist die von Bischen und Menische, in ihrer Lieblichkeit zugleich auch wieder eine sinnvolle Variation des grossen Thema's vom Zwiespalt und Kampf zwischen Iran und Turan." [1]

But if we compare ancient Greek and Persian epic poetry from an aesthetical point of view, we may not forget to quote also the great Indian epic poems, the Sanskrit Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, as the third great epic tradition of our common Aryan ancestors [the Persian poem, of course, being much younger than the two other ones]. It is well-known that a complete translation of the Mahâbhârata has been made by a Bengali patriot, Babu Pratapa Chandra Roy, and Sir Edwin Arnold has written two important articles upon his work and upon the brave and gentle translator, who died a short time ago. „Least competent of all scholars" [Sir Edwin Arnold remarks], „but not least enthusiastic, I have put into English verse some thousands of the sublime and majestic Sanskrit slokas, which roll abreast in an unbroken monotony of long lines as regular and as symmetrically maintained in oceanic sweep and thunder as the billows of the Bay of Bengal. Among these I have published the wonderful Bhagavad Gita; the Savitri — that noble tale

[1] Joh. Scherr, „Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur". Bd. I. Stuttgart 1880, p. 92. — The translations of Firdusi, quoted by Scherr, are: German works by A. F. von Schack (1851—1865), especially: „Heldensagen des Firdusi". A French translation by Mohl, 7 volumes, 1879.

of Death overcome — the two superb concluding books of the vast work „The Great Journey" and the „Entry into Heaven", together with many briefer passages. But, as a whole, the Mahâbhârata remained, and seemed fated to remain, a mass too vast for mortal man to grapple with.... At last, to the wonder of all those scholars who can estimate the nature of the marvellous triumph attained, the colossal Mahâbhârata has been rendered — and well and ably rendered — into English prose, from its beginning to its end, by the ardour and the devotion of a Hindoo gentleman, Pratapa Chandra Roy." [1]

Now, after having mentioned Greek as well as Persian and Sanskrit epic poetry, we have to compare them, to find out the similarities as well as the differences. And besides this we should not forget that this is only epic poetry of our Aryan race, that it is not the only epic literature which our race has produced (the Slavonic race, for instance, has its „Song of Igor", and so many other epic songs could be mentioned, especially when we proceed to modern times), and that there is a much wider field of comparison for us, when we look also at the epics of other races, like the Kalevala of the Finns, etc.

But let us confine ourselves to the three great epics, the Shâh Nâmeh, Homer and the Mahâbhârata. We have seen already that the Persian epic can as well be called a *classical* one, as well be said to contain *classical beauty*, taken in the modern evolution of the idea of the beautiful and classical, as the poetry of Homer. A good comparison between the Greek and the Indian epic has already been given by Mr. Posnett. „A vast range" (he remarks) „of human interests, diversities of language and race, varieties and sharp contrasts of caste, consciousness of intricate distinctions in social life, will account for the disorderly universalism of the Indian epics, compared with the far greater uniformity but also narrowly local interests of the Greek. If in the Iliad time, place, action, are restricted within comparatively narrow limits, if even the wider circle of the Odyssey is insignificant compared with the almost unbounded range of the Mahâbhârata,

[1] Sir Edwin Arnold, „A dead man's victory", in The Daily Telegraph, June 1897. (2 art.).

the social and physical differences under which the Indian and Greek poets lived are amply sufficient to explain their diverse treatment of time, place, and action, a diversity which we shall find repeated in the Greek and Sanskrit dramas. Just as the similes of the Indian epics are taken from the movements of Asiatic animals — the tiger, the elephant — or from the peculiar aspects of Indian plants, the Sanskrit dictionary itself marking the profusion of Indian flowers by the number of its botanical terms, so graphic and picturesque descriptions of scenery, alike in the epics and dramas of India, reflect not only „the whole appearance of external nature in the East, the exuberance of vegetation, the wealth of trees and fruits and flowers, the glow of burning skies, the freshness of the rainy season, the fury of storms, the serenity of Indian moonlight, and the gigantic mould in which natural objects are generally cast", but also a state of social life in which the primary units are not the city and the citizen, but the agricultural village and its communal brethren redolent of Nature's life. We may say, then, *that the great differences between the Indian and Greek epics are the fantastic intermixture (not merely, as in the Iliad, the juxtaposition) of gods, heroes, men, and the vast extension of space and time in the former*, characteristics also accompanied by a profound sympathy with physical nature which, in spite of a few well-known passages, may be said to be singularly absent from the Greek epics" [1].

Now, to take only one small part of that gigantic Indian epic poem, if we compare the episode of Nala and Damayantî with the episode of Hector and Andromache in the Iliad, or with one of the episodes in which Odysseus meets his beloved wife Penelope after such a long separation, I cannot see why the Indian epic could not be called as beautiful and classical as the Greek. A famous German literary critic, who lived in the beginning of this century, A. W. von Schlegel, has uttered the opinion „that the small epos of Nala cannot possibly be surpassed in *pathos*, or deep tragical feeling, in *ethos*, or intense moral feeling, in force of passions which enraptures the reader, and in the sublimity and tenderness of

[1] Posnett, Comparative Literature, p. 308—309.

the sentiments, which are found in it" („dass es an Pathos und Ethos, an hinreissender Gewalt der Leidenschaften wie an Hoheit und Zartheit der Gesinnungen schwerlich übertroffen werden könne"). [1]) It is true that these qualities are also found in the well-known passage of the Iliad, and especially in some passages of the Odyssey, which show a great tenderness of matrimonial sentiments; but the expression of the feelings and sentiments of pure love is as fine and beautiful in the one as in the other, with the restriction, of course, that an episode of love in India cannot be quite the same as in Greece, the one naturally being more passionate and gigantic like the surrounding scenery, the other naturally being more lovely and moderate, like the moderate height of the surrounding mountains, and the scenery in general, of ancient and modern Greece.

Before we finish with epic poetry, let us compare one of the most modern specimens of it, perhaps the most modern one in its diversity of sentiments, Byron's masterwork and epical poem Don Juan. I do not agree with the learned Dr. Tozer's opinion that „Childe Harold" is the greatest of Byron's works, nor when he says of Don Juan: „In this poem libertinism is made a subject for jesting, or palliated, or depicted in bright colours, nor does a scoffing tone of ridicule prevail (in Childe Harold), as in Don Juan, which for these reasons is such undesirable reading". [2] Of course, I do not defend all the eccentricities of Byron, as shown in his greatest work; I only say that it is a masterpiece of *modern* epic poetry, as opposed to ancient and mediaeval epic poetry, that it is a beautiful

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[1] v. Schlegel, as cited by Scherr, Allgem. Geschichte der Literatur, I. 36. The „Nala" has been translated by Kosegarten, Bopp, Rückert, Meier, Holtzmann, etc. into German. — A Dutch metrical translation by myself of the 9 first parts appeared in the periodical „De Tijdspiegel" of The Hague. (1899, p. 306—322).

[2] Byron, Childe Harold, edited with introduction and notes, by H. F. Tozer. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1885. 8°. p. 24. — Cp. Byron's preface to canto 6—8 of Don Juan, written in Pisa, 1822 (in which he also quotes Voltaire: „La pudeur s'est enfuite des coeurs, et s'est refugiée sur les lèvres", and: „Plus les moeurs sont dépravés, plus les expressions deviennent mesurées; on croit regagner en langage ce qu'on a perdu en vertu"). — The poetical works of Lord Byron, Oxford edition, London, Oxford, New-York 1896. 8°. p. 716—717. [The conservative

epic poem, taken in the most modern sense, and that this literary judgment essentially shows the enormous evolution of the idea of the beautiful, from ancient times to this day (as Byron and his Don Juan essentially belong to the nineteenth century). Let me try to work out this idea, by giving some examples.

It is not enough to state that the description of the storm in the II Canto, and the description of the siege of Ismail in the VII—VIII Cantos, are most splendid specimens of descriptive and epic poetry, that they possess an epic force and a plasticity which cannot be surpassed by other epic poets, for these are only some episodes of the grand poem. The Don Juan is so beautiful because it is so universal and so modern, so near to us, so true, so passionate and so sublime altogether. The passion of love, not of that untrue ethereal love which was unknown to the best classical times but seems to have been introduced much later into Europe, but of real human love, is described in it with the most vivid and splendid colours [Haidee, canto II, 202 and following stanzas.] But the poet is not so one-sided to describe this passion only, the passion of freedom and liberty he praises also in the most noble verses and the most beautiful language [The isles of Greece, canto III, and compare above all canto VIII 137 and other passages] [1], and in short, all human sentiments and

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Schlegel says: „Scott and Byron, together constituting the „poetry of reminiscence and the poetry of despair, may be „said to form the close of a former extinct minstrelsy, rather „than the commencement of a new era, of which as yet there „are no manifest tokens". — Lectures on the history of literature, Lond. 1868, p. 315. — How false is this! Rather the contrary proves to be true now, as Byron is not yet quite popular in England, as he deserves to be].

[1] Byron's Don Juan,

VIII 137:

* And when you hear historians talk of thrones,
And those that sate upon them, let it be
As we now gaze upon the mammoth's bones,
And wonder what old world such things could see,
Or hieroglyphics on Egyptian stones,
The pleasant riddles of futurity —
Guessing at what shall happily be hid,
As the real purpose of a pyramid.

feelings, from the lowest perhaps to the highest and most sublime, occur in this wonderful composition, showing that Byron was deeply convinced — as I am — of the sad reality of the German proverb that „man is half an animal, half an angel" („Der Mensch ist halb Thier, halb Engel"). Shelley takes the reader with him, on his immortal wings, and lifts him up to heaven; but at the same time he sometimes loses himself in the clouds of sublimity, whereas Byron, especially in the Don Juan, shows not only the depth of heaven, but above all the depth of earth to us, mortal beings, made of dust and returning to dust („dust thou art, to dust returnest", Longfellow). The highest form of art is idealism, based upon the most true and the most universal reality; *the combining of reality with idealism*, which governed the whole life and the writings of Goethe; and in this sense the Don Juan belongs to the most beautiful modern productions of mankind.

Now, if we could venture to compare Indian and Persian and Greek and modern-English epic poetry, we could try to find an answer to the many questions, connected with the evolution of the idea of the beautiful in literature. But we have only collected some materials, and the problem still remains. Translations often give such an imperfect idea of the original, and especially in poetry the form is so intimately connected with the contents and the ideas, that our judgment must remain very partial, imperfect and narrow-sided. Indian and Greek poetry have been *sung*, our modern epic and other poetry, like the Don Juan, can only be *read* and *recited.* [1] So there is, first

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cp. IX 25:

It is not that I adulate the people:
Without *me*, there are demagogues enough,
And infidels, to pull down every steeple,
And set up in their stead some proper stuff,
Whether they may sow scepticism to reap hell,
As is the Christian dogma rather rough,
I do not know: I wish men to be free,
As much from mobs as kings — from you as me.

[1] Nearly all classical scholars in Europe forget this simple truth, *reciting* f. i. ancient Greek verses which are destined to be sung, and which have always been sung, and *singing* i. e. *pronouncing according to a musical quantity* Greek prose, which never has been sung. Cp. my „Contributions to the

of all, an enormous difference in the form. Moreover, there is the greatest diversity in the state of society, in nature and scenery, and so on. Literary criticism has to study all these subjects, for it is an important part of the history of civilisation, combining art with science, and dealing with the ideas, thoughts and sentiments of the great and simple mass of the people (folklore), as well as with those of the best and most select of mankind (poets).

To return now, for a moment, to the Don Juan, I have already stated that the real development of the idea of the beautiful shows itself in the progress from national to international literature. This fact is very clearly demonstrated by the works of Byron, especially by his last and most elaborate work, his modern epic poem. His works are international, not national at all, and so we can explain very well his influence in literature. To quote Dr. Tozer's words again: „It is remarkable — he says — that the influence of Byron's poetry has been far greater on the continent than it has been in England. No English poet, except Shakspere, has been so much read or so much admired by foreigners. His works, or parts of them, have been translated into many European languages, and numerous foreign writers have been affected by their ideas and style. The estimate that has been formed of them is extraordinarily high".[1] But I doubt whether the learned Dr. Tozer is right in saying that the chief reason of this is to be found in his political opinions. It is quite true that Byron's lines

> Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
> Streams like the thunderstorm against the wind,
> (Childe Har. canto IV)

„knowledge of ancient Greek versification" (in Dutch: Bijdragen tot de leer der oud-Grieksche verskunst), in „Hellas" VI 1896. This wrong method prevails in Europe since the days of Erasmus, and it will take still a long time to convince the classical scholars, who follow the wrong traditional system, taught in the schools and universities.

[1] Tozer, Introduction to Childe Harold, p. 22. — In Holland a whole school of poets, amongst whom Nicolaas Beets stands foremost, has been affected by Byron. In Greece, the poetry of Soutsos seems also a reflection of Byron, his „Periplanómenos", the Wanderer, is Byron's „Childe Harold"; and it would be easy to multiply these examples. — In Russia also, Byron has exercised an enormous influence, (Puschkin, Lermontoff, etc.).

struck a chord which vibrated in the hearts of thousands, and that wherever aspirations for indepence arose, Byron's poems were read and admired — but it seems to me that this does not explain all. Byron has made such a fierce and heavy attack on several striking peculiarities of the great majority of English people of his own time [like the great Dutch writer of modern times, Multatuli, did in Holland], that he could not be popular in his own country.

So he could only freely be appreciated by continental readers, as the English language was already in his times a universal, a world-language. And the same may be said of the great poet Shelley, the incarnation of the idea of the beautiful, to whom truly may be applied the verses of his admirer, the young Dutch poet Perk:

„Schoonheid! Wie eenmaal u aanschouwt, leefde genoeg,
Als hem de dood in dezen stond versloeg,
Geen nood! — hij heeft genoten 't hoogst genot!"

beautiful lines, expressing much better than can be done in prose, the intense feeling of beauty and the beautiful of this most sublime of the English poets. [1] But on the other hand, as I expressed myself already, Shelley is too classical perhaps, too musical, too elevated, too sublime, to be understood by the multitude, or even by such people as can be said to possess literary culture and literary capacities; the regions in which he dwells are too high, the spiritual world which surrounded him was too tender, as Goethe says „Aus Morgenduft gewebt und Sonnenklarheit" — that although it is quite true

[1] „Beauty! he, who once has contemplated you, he lived enough. Even when Death did strike him on that very moment, no fear! He has enjoyed the greatest possible enjoyment!" — The poems of Jacques Perk are real gems of the Dutch language; and it would be interesting to point out the great influence of Shelley on a whole school of modern Dutch poets, especially in the periodical „De Nieuwe Gids". This has been done to some extent by the Dutch poet and critic Edward B. Koster in an article in „De Tijdspiegel" entitled „Over Navolging en Overeenkomst in de Literatuur" („On Imitation and Concurrence in Literature".) The same author has called attention to the similarity of the poems of Charles D. G. Roberts (a Canadian poet, author of „Songs of the Common Day") with passages from Shelley, Wordsworth, Keats, Goethe, and Victor Hugo.

that he must be called an international, a world's poet, it is equally true that he only belongs to those „upper ten thousand", to that small number of men, who dare ascend the Montblanc of European and modern poetry.

The poetry of Shelley — to say something more of it, as his influence will increase in the future with the gradual diffusion of the English language, and the spreading of a more refined culture and civilization, which will enable more persons to be educated by it — this poetry should be treated essentially from an aesthetical point of view, not (or far more than) from an anthropological or a social one. „Poets (he says himself), not otherwise than philosophers, painters, sculptors, and musicians, are in one sense the creators, and in another the creations of their age. From this subjection the loftiest do not escape. There is a similarity between Homer and Hesiod, between Aeschylus and Euripides, between Virgil and Horace, between Dante and Petrarch, between Shakspeare and Fletcher, between Dryden and Pope; each has a generic resemblance under which their specific distinctions are arranged." [1] But the great poets, I may add, and Shelley was one of the greatest of mankind, are much more than the creations of their age, they are the real governors and princes of mankind, they have an immense and everlasting influence on its progress. They are prophets in the most modern sense of the word, as is beautifully expressed by the great German poet Schiller:

„Was wir als Schönheit hier empfunden,
„Wird einst als Wahrheit uns entgegen gehn"

[That which we have felt here (on earth) as beauty, will come to us as truth in later times]. The great value of aesthetics cannot possibly be expressed better, than is done by Schiller in these two short lines.

* * *

Now although everybody knows the origin of the word *aes-*

[1] Preface to Prometheus Unbound, a lyrical drama. — The poetical works of P. B. Shelley (The „Chandos Classics"). London, Fred. Warne & Co. s. a. p. 202. — The whole of this preface is exceedingly interesting, and written in a beautiful and elevated style.

*thetic*, and its derivations aesthetical, aesthetically, and aesthetics, perhaps it is not useless to repeat it here, as the most simple things are sometimes forgotten. In Greek *aisthánesthai* means *to feel* or *perceive*, and *aesthetikos* means *perceptive*; so the word aesthetics is explained in the dictionary as: „*the feeling of beauty in objects, the science of taste, the philosophy of the fine arts*" (Chambers's Etymol. Dict. of the Engl. language s.v.).

According to this definition, we may say that writers, who have such an intense feeling of beauty and beautiful form, combined with so sublime ideas of moral conduct and the reform of morality, generally spoken the improvement of mankind, even when they are too weak to carry out these ideas in practical life, [1] that such writers form the most interesting object of comparative literature, considered from an aesthetical point of view. Shelley himself says (in the above-mentioned Preface): „Let this opportunity be conceded to me of acknowledging that I have, what a Scotch philosopher characteristically terms, *a passion for reforming the world*.... My purpose has hitherto been to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence; aware that until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope, and endure, reasoned principles of moral conducts are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness." — Nothing can be more sublime than these pure and high conceptions of the improvement of human society and mankind, expressed in the most beautiful and elevated form, as is done by Shelley and a few other poets, similar to him. It shows clearly that — as Posnett remarks — „whether men like it or not, their

[1] I do not defend Shelley's leaving of his wife, and abandoning her for an other; nor the same conduct of the Dutch satirist Multatuli; nor the conduct of Rousseau, of whom it is known that his theories did not agree with his practice. Such men stand higher in my esteem, as can combine moral theories with practice. But „tout comprendre, c'est beaucoup pardonner", and we cannot apply the measure of ordinary, transitory morals to extraordinary talents like these three great writers.

literary efforts at ideal beauty in prose or verse must involve ideals of human conduct." [1]

But enough of Shelley and his value for literature, considered from an aesthetical point of view. We are aware that we have only made a very feeble and imperfect beginning of this chapter of comparative literature, having taken only three examples of ancient, and one of modern epic poetry. We have not compared the „Nibelungenlied" of the Germans, nor the „Gerusalemme Liberata" of Tasso, nor Ariosto's „Orlando Furioso", nor the „Lusiadas" of Camoens, nor „Paradise Lost" of Milton, nor Bilderdijk's „Ondergang der eerste wareld", etc., and many other epic productions that might be mentioned. A comprehensive treatment of this subject should begin with a general survey of the epic literature of all the races and peoples of the world, and in one of our following lectures we will try to make a brief sketch of it. After this, a comparative treatment of this epic poetry should be attempted, first among the different peoples of one and the same race, and afterwards among the different races themselves. This done, the question arises whether a certain standard of aesthetical perfection, and an evolution in this standard, can be the result of such a comparison. This is the only possible manner of combining the aesthetic with the historical method and point of view. I do not accept such a great contradiction between these two methods as Mr. Posnett seems to do. After having quoted the remarks of Mr. Symonds (in his *Greek Poets*, Second Series, p. 303) that the students of ancient times attached less value than we do to literature of secondary importance, and that much might be said for this way of dealing with literature, because by concentrating attention on undeniable excellence, a taste for noble things in art was fostered, while the danger that we run of substituting the historical for the aesthetic method was avoided — Mr. Posnett continues: „In their unhistorical criticism the Greeks committed the far more serious error of substituting the aesthetic method for the historical — an error which, decked in the beauty of Greek art, has done more to

[1] Compar. Literature, Conclusion p. 398.

check the growth of historical science in modern Europe than can be easily estimated." [1]

Now, leaving this for Mr. Posnett's account, I repeat that I cannot see such a great antithesis between these two methods, if treated according to our modern ideas. The historical and social method points out the growth and the essence of literary forms and productions, in connection with the state of the society in which they appeared; for him who applies this method the study of Chaucer is as interesting as that of Spenser or Marlowe [or Marlow, † 1593] or Shakespeare, the vision of Piers the Ploughman as remarkable as the poems of Shelley. The aesthetic method, in the traditional sense of the word, followed quite another way, it is true. There will always be some difference between these various points of view. But we ought to find out the *evolution* of the idea of the beautiful, and that means a great concession to the scientific, and historical method.

*Evolution* means gradual growth, and this gradual growth is also the fundamental law of history. If it is true that the history of human society shows a certain progress, very slow but still undeniable, there must also be a certain progress in the thoughts and feelings of poets and prosewriters, and in their artistic and beautiful manner of expressing them, not only in the spreading of those thoughts, but also in their greater refinement and perfection. This is exactly what I mean, when speaking of the evolution, or gradual development, of the idea of the beautiful. [2]

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[1] Compar. Literature, p. 179 (note).

[2] A very good proof of all this is afforded by Marlowe's and Goethe's „Faustus", and by the Faustlegend in general. cf. „The old German puppet play of Doctor Faust", turned into English, with an introd. and notes, by T. C. H. Hedderwick, London, Kegan Paul 1887. 8°. 207 p. The Appendix contains: 1. Lessing's fragment. 2. Notes on some mediaeval magicians. 3. Ballad of Faustus. 4. Editions of the Puppet-play. 5. Dramatizations of the Faust Legend. 6. Principal dates of Goethe's Faust — and this whole book is one of the most interesting contributions to comparative literature, I ever saw. The puppet-play forms the link, that knits together the memories of Marlowe and Goethe; the German puppet-play was either directly or indirectly derived from Marlowe's tragedy, and nearly every change which took place in the representation of „Faust" upon

I quite agree with Mr. Posnett, for instance, that the true literary artist is the deepest sympathiser with Athenian feelings, and that the intense feeling for the beautiful reached in Athens its culminating point. Nothing more true than that. But from that time to this day we can follow still the lines of a certain evolution. The Athenian was one-sided and narrow-minded, as he considered other peoples and tribes excessively barbarous. Now-a-days all such prejudices have gradually disappeared, and we read and study the prose and poetry of other races and other nations with the utmost interest, not only in translations, but also very often in the original language.

The Athenian intense feeling for beauty could go hand in hand with slavery (although it was not such a despotic one as the Romans had), and women, it seems, were not allowed to go to the theatre, and were in an inferior condition. At present such a slavery no longer exists, and women occupy a much higher position than in antiquity.

All this affects also the beautiful expression of thoughts and sentiments and feelings In short, there must be an immense difference in the aesthetical standard between those highly artistic times of the Athenian commonwealth and our modern century. This could be shown by a comparison of ancient and modern lyric and dramatic poetry, but I will rather leave it to the reader to work out this very interesting parallel. The great decadence of the study of classical literature in our modern times is not only due to the wrong, traditional and dead methods, according to which it generally is studied in the schools; it is due also, for a very great part, to the fact that our standard of the beautiful is wholly altered, that aesthetic feeling in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens does not at all mean aesthetic feeling in our modern theatres of Covent Garden, Haymarket, or other places. It is true that the Athenians, that Plato and the companions of Socrates, have been great artists and have given a high impulse to the idea of the beautiful. But still there lies a world between their conceptions and those of one, who followed and admired them, of Shelley.

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the stage in England, was followed by a corresponding change in Germany. It would be interesting to work out the evolution of the idea of the beautiful, from the earliest known versions of the play, till Marlowe, and afterwards till the splendid creation of Goethe.

FIFTH LECTURE.

## General view of the literature of the different races of mankind. — (Introduction).

(Part I)

This lecture can only try to be the introduction to an introduction, as it is nearly impossible for one person to embrace so vast a subject. Many names, dates and titles, of course, can be given; but the history of literature is something more than that. Besides this, we seem not yet to have a fixed and certain basis for the division of mankind into races, and the science of ethnology is still a very modern one. As, moreover, we cannot rationally separate language from literature, language being the only instrument by which thoughts, and beautiful thoughts, can be expressed, I prefer to take first the classification of humanity according to languages, adding something afterwards on a possible general sketch of literature, according to the different races [1]. There always remains the great

[1]) This is, for the moment, only a practical division, not a scientific one. A really scientific division cannot be given *now*, although a vast material has already been collected by most able scholars.

As Sayce remarks: It can never be too often repeated that language and race are not convertible [in this sentence I do not quite understand the expression „convertible", Prof. Sayce means to say, of course, that there is a great difference between the classification of mankind according to languages, philology, and according to races.] — The science of language, vol. II p. 215. — On the necessity of studying and comparing

difficulty that not much is known, and still less published in books easily accessible to the public, about the primitive literature of savage tribes and of more or less uncivilized peoples; and yet, notwithstanding that, I am convinced that it is quite necessary to compare examples, taken from everywhere, as the material ought to be as exhaustive as possible. This applies not only to literature but also to the study of languages, although even very clever Indo-German scholars do not generally acknowledge this theory. (I tried to prove this in some of my latest writings)

In his great work on The science of language, Professor Sayce has given a classification of all the existing languages of the world. This list (first published in 1880) of linguistic families, as well as the leading authorities upon them, was taken from Prof. Friedrich Müller's Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (1876), with modifications and additions. In my Attempt at a sketch of the languages of the world, published in German under the title „Versuch einer Uebersicht der Sprachen der Erde nach genealogischem System" (published in 1896), I also followed the great work of the Vienna professor, and tried also to give some modifications and additions. Such a list of course must be very imperfect, but still this highly important and most useful study is very much neglected by the scholars of comparative philology. Take, for instance, the African languages. I quite agree with a learned and able writer, Mr. Robert Needham Cust of London, when he makes the following remark about the languages of the great Bántu family: „As these languages become known with their wonderful structure of pronominal prefixes and concord, the Aryan and Semitic languages will lose their monopoly in the school of comparative philology, and new depths will be sounded of the human intellect unassisted by culture, and undeveloped by contact with other nations in a higher state of civilization." [1] A key to these and other languages will

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all the other families of languages in the world, besides the great Indo-German family, cp. my Beiträge zur Griechischen Grammatik, Erstes Heft, Leiden 1897, p. 19 (note). Above all, the works of the great linguist Bleek ought to be studied more.

[1]) R. N. Cust, A sketch of the modern languages of Africa. Accompanied by a language map. Vol. II London, 1883, p. 298. The great problem of the origin of language, f. i., cannot

also become a key to the folklore and primitive literature of these and of many other tribes, and so it is that the so-called comparative philology is highly useful, nay indispensable, to every student of comparative literature.

In quoting the works of Professor Friedrich Müller and Sayce (the relative merits of Professor Max Müller belonging more especially to the Aryan branch of languages), and my own essay on a classification of the languages of mankind, I ought not to forget the general division of languages, given by a great scholar of this century, I mean by Lepsius. In his immortal work on the Standard Alphabet (as he calls it) for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters, of which the 2nd edition was published in London in 1863, he makes a great and first division into *literary* and *illiterate* languages. He calls those languages literary, which, for the most part, have a system of writing and at least a beginning of literature; whereas the illiterate languages have, with few exceptions, no writing.

The literary languages he divides in two large groups, viz. Gender-languages, and No-gender-languages. It is not accidental but very significant (he remarks) that only the most highly civilised races, the leading nations in the history of mankind, distinguish throughout the genders, and that the gender-languages are the same as those, which scientifically by linguistic reasons may be proven as descending from one original Asiatic stock. The development of peculiar forms for the grammatical gender proves a comparatively higher consciousness of the two sexes; and the distinction not only of the masculine and feminine, as in the Semitic and Hamitic languages, but also of the feminine and neuter gender, exclusively expressed in the Japhetic branch, is only a step further in the same direction. [1]

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be studied without a very deep and thorough knowledge of the languages of Africa, cp. W. A. J. Bleek, Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache. Mit einem Vorwort von E. Haeckel. Weimar 1868. (one of the most interesting essays on language in general).

[1] Stand. Alphabet, p. 89—90. What Lepsius adds is also very interesting. He says: It seems unquestionable that the three great branches of gender-languages were not only in the past the depositaries and the organs of the historical progress of human civilisation, but that to them, and particularly to the youngest branch of them, the Japhetic, *belong also the future*

The „gender-languages" fall into three groups, viz. the Japhetic or Indogermanic, the Semitic and the Hamitic; whereas the „No-gender-languages" are divided bij Lepsius into the Asiatic group, comprising the Turanic or Tataric, the monosyllabic, and the isolated languages, and into the Polynesian or Malayan (or Oceanic) group. —

The illiterate languages fall also into three large groups, viz. the Australian or Papuan, the African (with their subdivision of primitive or South-African, and isolated or Middle-African), and finally the American languages.

Now the question arises: which classification have we to follow? — First of all, we have to remark that since the publication of the second edition of Lepsius' most interesting work (1863) more than thirty years have elapsed, in which also the general knowledge of languages has made considerable progress. We now prefer not to speak of the Japhetic and Hamitic family of languages, it seems certain that Indogermanic or rather Indo-European is a much better name. Secondly, the knowledge of the Ural-Altaic languages (and this is a far better name than „Turanic" or „Turanian") has made very remarkable progress, and many scholars are working in this neglected field. The same can be said of „Papuan", an expression used by Lepsius, which seems rather doubtful. To the science of the Malayo-Polynesian languages some Dutch scholars have made interesting contributions (Kern, Brandes, and others). Much light has been thrown upon the American languages, by Brinton and others, and the same can be said of other parts of the world. In short, we cannot adopt Lepsius' classifications as wholly up to date.

As the well-known Oxford professor Sayce, now living in Egypt for the greater part of the year, seems to me a very comprehensive scholar, and as he has published his classification in English, whereas my own, published in 1896, 16 years after Sayce's list (1880), has been made

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*hopes of the world. All the other languages are in decline, and seem to have henceforth but a local existence.* [On the standard alphabet of Lepsius in general cf. my notes in the periodical „Hellas", vol. VI nr. 4, Leiden 1897. The standard alphabet has been attacked, but still no better alphabet for all the families of languages has been given].

in German, I am very glad to follow, with some necessary additions and modifications, Sayce's classification. But I must repeat here that our work can only be a beginning, as we do not possess the necessary materials, or rather to say — as it is not possible for one scholar to gather such a comprehensive knowledge of all the literature of all the races, tribes and nations, barbarous, semi-barbarous, and civilised, of mankind.

There is still another reason why I prefer Sayce's work to Lepsius, in this field of study. Lepsius' division of literary and illiterate languages, although very interesting and useful, especially for questions of alphabet and spelling, cannot be easily adopted in the science of comparative literature. A great deal of the literature (the primitive one, of course, even the most primitive) of the human race does not exist, or hardly exists, in writing and print; on the other side hundreds of languages, more or less unknown, possess only the translation of the Bible and nothing else, to which we can scarcely apply the term „literature."

Let us now give some contributions to a future sketch of the literature of the different languages of mankind, leaving it to others to make the real sketch, drawn from all the original and accessible sources.

The classification, given by Sayce and generally adopted by continental scholars, contains seventy-six families of languages, though it must be remembered — to quote his own words — that in many cases our information is scanty and doubtful, and languages grouped under a single head may hereafter turn out to be distinct and unrelated. It begins with the agglutinative and isolating languages of the Bushman, and ends with the agglutinative Micronesian languages and dialects of the Gilbert, the Marshall and other islands. But I will only take some of the better known and important groups, paying especially attention to that new science which shows that the period of a scientific treatment of literature is already approaching, the science of folklore. Folklore in its widest sense, successfully studied in England and elsewhere, is nothing else but the most primitive literature of mankind, and so it may happen that the Folklore Record (published in London), the Folklore Journal (edited in Capetown), and other publications

will in the future prove to be as important as the traditional sources, like the Greek, Latin and other classical writers, from which we have been used to draw our results. We have only to introduce the simple principle that the knowledge of the most primitive (literary) forms is as interesting and useful as the study of the highest developed ones. [1]

The first 16 families of languages, given by Sayce, all belong to Africa and are mostly negro-languages. First of all come the Bushman i. e. the Dutch word Boschjesman(s) (men of the forest), the folklore of whom has been published by the immortal Bleek. As these tribes belong to the most primitive of humankind and as the clicks they utter are of the highest interest, being a transition from the lower to the higher animals, without any doubt the folklore of these human beings also presents a very great interest. [2] Next to the Bushman come the

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[1] Not only language, but also literature, ought to be studied as zoology and other branches of natural science. In the year 1868 the great zoologist Haeckel could write: „*Bei der heute noch üblichen Trennung der Philologie von der Naturwissenschaft*", in Bleek, Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache, Weimar 1868 (Vorwort der Herausgebers), but since that time the period is rapidly coming that not only phonetics, but the whole study of language, will be based upon zoological principles, so to say; and the same ought to be done for the science of literature, which has nearly always been treated as an object of fancy or amusement, without any serious method whatever.

[2] Bleek in „The Cape and its people (1869) — Bleek, A brief account of Bushman folklore and other texts (1875). — I will quote here Bleek's words upon this important matter: „Von allen mir bekannten Sprachen übertrifft die der Buschmänner Südafrikas (die *Saan* von den Hottentotten, *Abatua* von den Kaffern, und *Baroa* in der Setshuâna genannt werden) alle anderen bei weitem in Betreff der Stärke der zu ihrer Aussprache nothwendigen mechanischen Kraftausübung. Es ist nothwendig eine solche Sprache, in der die meisten Worte mit einem der wenigstens sechsfach verschiedenen Schnalzlaute und mehrere mit sehr anstrengenden Gutturalen ausgesprochen werden, namentlich in Betracht zu ziehen, wenn man von den ursprünglichen Lautelementen, aus denen menschliche Sprache erwuchs, eine auch nur annähernde Idee haben will. Hier schnalzt nicht nur die Zunge (wie im Hottentottischen), sondern auch die Lippen..... In wiefern ein Lautsystem wie das Buschmännische mit den Lauten der menschenähnlichsten Affen Berührungspunkte darbietet, ist eine Frage die mir wohl eine eingehendere Untersuchung zu verdienen scheint," etc.
(Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache, Weimar 1868, p. 53 note).

Hottentots (a word derived from a Dutch onomatopoeia, it seems, hot-en-tot, as used by the first Dutchmen who met them; so the word means „stutterers"), who also possess their folklore. In Bleek's work on Reynard the Fox in South-Africa, which has been published also in German (Weimar 1870), it has been shown that the beast-fable occupies in Africa a peculiar and almost isolated place. Such literature as the native races of Africa possess consists almost wholly of beast-fables. It is possible (Sayce remarks) that, like the clicks, the beast-fable also radiated from one source — the race now known as Bushmen, as it is among them that it exists in its fullest and most original form, and it is among them, too, that the art of drawing animals with considerable skill has been cultivated from time immemorial, as is evidenced by the rock paintings of Southern Africa. Even with the imperfect materials we possess at present, it is possible to trace the diffusion of certain fables from a primitive Bushman source. [1]

Remaining still in that great continent of Africa we have the enormously great family of the Kafir, who use the Bâ-ntu languages, which are prefix-pronominal. (They prefix the same substantive, worn down, it may be, to a mere unmeaning symbol, to each of the words in a sentence which have to be brought into relation with each other; o-ka-ti k-etu o-ka-ua, for instance, being „our fine stick", or literally „sticks ours fine", Sayce l. c. I 129) As we have already stated above, this very important family of languages begins to attract the attention of many scholars, and the time will come when the language and literature of the widely spread Bantus will be as interesting for science as is now that of the Aryans or of the Semites. In one of the last published works, the Rev. J. Torrend, a Jesuit, continues not only the comparative grammar published (imperfectly) by Bleek, but the material given by him as drawn from kafir-folklore is also very valuable. To quote only some few examples, the study of the tales, the folklore, the proverbs and sayings, etc. of the Bantus may prove to be very useful for the interpretation of many doubtful and obscure passages in the oldest-known classical literature, the songs of the Ho-

[1] The science of language, vol. 2, p. 282.

meric bards.[1] Not only to comparative mythology but also, and still more, to comparative literature belongs the fact that coincidences have been pointed out between the story of Jack the Giant Killer and the Kafir story of Uhlakanyana, who tricks the cannibal and his mother, to whom he had been delivered to be boiled; but coincidences — it is Sayce who remarks it — do not of themselves point to a common origin.[2] Still these comparisons can be very useful for a future comparative treatment of all the tales and fables of mankind, which has been done by Benfey (in his Pancatantra) so far as regards the Aryan nations.

Before we leave South and Central Africa we wish to make two observations; the first is that also a comparative treatment of the proverbs of savage and of higher developed races may become useful in the future — I myself found many affinities amongst the proverbs of so widely remote races and nations, as those who spoke or speak the African, the Celtic, and the Frisian tongue — and the second is, that the whole method of this study ought to start from the principle of evolution. When Rosenkranz remarks (in his able work: Die Poesie und ihre Geschichte, published in 1855): „Die Negervölker tanzen gern, aber nirgends haben sie sich zur künstlerischen Freiheit erhoben" (p. 32), he quite forgets that the negroes cannot possibly reach that artistic freedom, simply because it belongs to a state of higher evolution of the dance, the music and poetry and literature in general. He would have done much better if he had explained to us, why it is that the negroes and their dances (although very skilful, it seems) do not go beyond that estate, and in short, if he had tried to give us a comparative history of dancing in general.[3] (Cf. p. 44 sqq.)

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[1] So for instance Torrend explains the Homeric expression of *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ* by a similar expression, found in the Bantu-languages. Cp. my Dutch article on Compar. Literature in „De Tijdspiegel" (The Hague, 1898).

[2] The science of language, vol 2, p. 262; Callaway, Nursery tales, traditions and histories of the Zulus, i. I. (1866). — Cp. Sayce, l. c. p. 359 of the second volume.

[3] Cp. for Africa: the works of R. N. Cust — Tutschek, Galla language (1844), Preface — Zimmermann, Akra or Ga language (1858), especially the proverbs, p. 158 sqq. — B. J. Haarhoff, Die Bantu-Stämme Süd-Afrikas, Leipzig 1890, and the authorities

To the literature of Africa belongs also the Nubian (of which specimens have been given by Lepsius in his great work Nübische Grammatik), and — besides the very important Semitic one, which we shall treat under Asia — the inflectional family of languages, called „Hamitic" bij Lepsius and Sayce and others, to which the following belong: Old Egyptian and Coptic — the sub-Semitic or Libyan, to which the now extinct Numidian and other idioms belong — and finally the Ethiopian languages. To the old Egyptian especially we must devote some attention. Egyptian literature (we know) was at once ancient and extensive, though fragments only have escaped destruction. Perhaps its most important document was the „Ritual of the Dead", a chapter of which is quoted on the coffin of Men-ke-ra or Mykerinus of the fourth dynasty (B. C. 4100), though additions and glosses continued to be made to it up to the Ptolemaic period. It is supposed by some authorities that the old Egyptians had a rich lyrical poetry — religious hymns we have in quantity — that epic poetry was not unknown to them, and that they possessed a dramatic literature, to be compared with the medieval miracle-plays and mysteries, but much seems still to be uncertain in this old and interesting field. [1]

Leaving Africa now, we go over to Asia and Europe, considering first the important Semitic family, which is inflectional, and to which three languages belong which possess an old and interesting civilisation and (two of them) a very rich and influential literature; the Assyro-Babylonian, and above all: Hebrew and Arabic. As regards Babylonia and Assyria it is very important that there has existed an old Babylonian (i. e. Semitic) epic poem („Istars's journey to hell"), published and translated by Schrader in 1874,

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quoted there p. 126 — Zeitschrift f. Afrikan. und oceanische Sprachen, herausg. von A. Seidel, Berlin, since 1895 — the works of Bleek, Lepsius, Torrend, etc. etc. A special catalogue of African languages is published by Trübner in London.

[1] Sayce, Introd. vol 2, p. 179. — Scherr, Literatur, vol. 1, p. 51—54. — Posnett, Compar. Liter. p. 145 (note), who quotes the Hibbert Lectures for 1879. — Prof. Mahaffy has also written about Egyptian literature. [Maspero, Brugsch, Ebers, Pleyte, and many others.]

showing also the parallelism which is peculiar to Hebrew poetry; and so the Semites really seem to possess epic poetry, a question which we shall have to consider in one of our following lectures.

But much more important, of course, is the Hebrew and Arabic literature, of which such fine specimens have been given in Mr. Posnett's work. In fact, the treatment of the Semitic branch of literature, with many original translations, is one of the merits of Professor Posnett, who has a joint knowledge of Aryan and Semitic languages, which is very rare amongst scholars. — As Hebrew literature is generally well-known, we have only to mention the fact that it does not possess epic or dramatic poetry, but a very strong and intense lyrical one. Arabic literature is still important (putting aside the theological point of view) first of all by reason of its world-religion, the Islâm itself, secondly because it played such a great part in medieval Christian times [1], and last not least, as it shows such an enormous quantity of literary productions. In the early poetry of the Arab clans Posnett shows us some of the best specimens of that personal expression of the clansman's feelings which he seeks to illustrate, and we can see in his work how useful Arabic literature is to show the intimate relation between the social condition of a certain people and its literature. It is a curious fact that no dramatic poetry has been developed by the Arabs (the

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[1] Cp. the great work of Professor R. Dozy, of Leiden University, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne. — Besides this the works of Weil, Nöldeke, Kremer and others. In Hammer-Purgstall's literary history of the Arabs (1850) nearly 3000 Arab poets and writers have been treated. — Cp. also the works quoted by Posnett himself. Very fine translations from the Arabic have been made by the German poet Rückert. (cp. Scherr I 81 note 2).

It would be a most interesting monography to study the differences between Semitic and Aryan literature, especially as regards the drama. Even in the 19th century there is no Jewish writer, it seems, who has produced a real drama (Is Lessing's Nathan a real drama?). Eugen Dühring's writings about this subject, although containing many good observations, are perhaps too one-sided.

[For Arabic literature cf. also The Koran, translated from the original Arabic, etc. by George Sale, London/New-York, s. a. 8°. 470 p.]

reason of this being ascribed by Scherr to the influence of the religion, the Islâm), Semitic literature has given us lyrical, elegiac, didactic etc. poetry, generally speaking a very personal poetry, but not the highest form, the drama.

Generally speaking, it seems that the highest development amongst the races of mankind (for the moment at least) belongs to that great family, the inflectional languages of which have been called Aryan, or Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European. They seem to be, as Lepsius called them, the „leading" nations, divided as they are into the Indian, the Iranian, the Celtic, the Italian, the Thraco-Illyrian, the Hellenic, the Letto-Slavonic and the Teutonic groups, with many subdivisions, dialects and mixed languages, like for instance that of the Zigeuner, who speak the Rom or Gipsy language, and have been proven to belong to the Indian group of that great family.

The greatest and the most important part of the literature of mankind has been produced by this group, and as to this family belong also the great world-languages — like English — also more or less French, German, etc. — in which real world-literature has been written, world-literature as well by its interior value as because it is spread and read all over the world, and besides this a great deal of the literature of other races has been translated into these languages; as moreover tragedy and comedy and musical drama or opera has been mostly, or nearly exclusively, developed by this race, and not by other races (or in inferior forms), a sketch of the literature of mankind must be, par excellence, a description of Aryan literature, which is not only confined now-a-days to Asia and Europe, but has been introduced also into America and the other large continents.

Now before we say something about the literature of our Aryan race, we have to make some remarks about translating and translation in general. First of all this is a practical question, as it is impossible for one person to study thoroughly all the languages of the world, and secondly the relation between the originals and their translation is of the highest importance. Starting from these points, we might say that we can adopt, as a basis of our science, good translations of Aryan literature into English, French, German and (perhaps) Russian, as it seems that

these languages will rule the world in the next centuries. [But as for Russian, so far as I can see, the Latin alphabet ought to be introduced, which rules already the literary world.] We cannot study all the original texts of Sanskrit, Old and New Persian, the Celtic tongues, Latin and Greek, all the Teutonic dialects, etc. etc., simply because we should not be able to do it. Besides this there ought to be a much greater uniformity in languages, as different languages and different dialects seem to me a great obstacle in the way of civilisation. So it is that good translations can become a mighty power in the evolution of mankind.

But what is a good translation? Literature, in its highest form, cannot separate the outside from the inside, the idea from the form in which it is expressed; a good translation, taken in this sense, ought to be a faithful reproduction of the metre, the rhythm, all the peculiarities of form, together with a faithful rendering of the words and the meaning. Is it possible to attain to this? And if it is possible, is it desirable to use such good translations?

A good answer to this question seems to be extremely difficult for the moment. First of all, we have introduced a distinction between poetry and prose, wich is very artificial, and did not exist in more remote times. But apart from this, we could perhaps avoid some difficulties and give a more or less satisfactory answer to the question by studying *both*, I mean translations for the general points of view, and original texts for all the special questions of literary criticism and science. Let me take as an example Homer, Dante and Goethe.

Of Homer we possess excellent translations in various languages; yet for anyone who wishes to study all the peculiarities, consisting also in sounds of vowels and consonants, in compounds, in construction or syntax, in metre and other things, it is impossible to restrain himself within the limits of translations: he has to go to the source itself, and to read (or rather to sing) Homer in the original.

The same prevails for Dante, who is very ably translated, especially by German and Dutch philologers [Streckfuss, Philalethes, Hacke van Mijnden, etc.]. But even Dante, though much nearer to us, ought to be read in the

original for peculiarities and special questions. So at least it seems to me.

Goethe's Faust has found most able translators, but could there be found a more excellent translator than the great poet Shelley? — The „Chorus of the Three" in the Prologue in Heaven has been rendered by Shelley as follows:

„The angels draw strength from thy glance,
„Though no one comprehend thee may;
„Thy world's unwithered countenance
„Is bright as on creation's day"

But Shelley himself gives the following literal translation:

„Thy countenance gives the Angels strength,
„Though none can comprehend thee:
„And all thy lofty works
„Are excellent as at the first day",

and he adds: Such is a literal translation of this astonishing chorus; *it is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification; even the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation, and the reader is surprised to find a caput mortuum.* [1] What Shelley could not do, will it be possible to reach for the dii minores in literature?

To return to our subject, I repeat that the reading and study of both, the original texts and the translations, seems to be indispensable for the moment. But for the moment, for one or two generations only, because in future times as soon as one or more of the world-languages shall become so highly developed and so well cultivated as to adapt itself much better than now to all the varieties of foreign tongues, it is possible that the study of

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[1] The poetical works of P. B. Shelley. Reprinted from the early editions. London, Fred. Warne & Co. s. a. 8°. p. 602—603. — Even the literal translation of the last line: *Are excellent as at the first day* does not correspond exactly with the German *Sind herrlich wie am ersten Tag*, simply because the sublime and deep sound of the adjective „herrlich" in this passage cannot be rendered by the English word „excellent". But this belongs to what I call the peculiarities and special questions of each language.

[For translations especially cf. the works of the learned A. Boltz in Darmstadt, and the volumes of my periodical „Hellas" from 1889 to 1897].

those foreign tongues will be very much reduced. A greater uniformity of language and alphabet, already defended by Pott, Lepsius, Sayce and others, ought to bring with it also a greater uniformity of literature, as soon as we possess a literary language, adapted to the most various, most cultivated and most sublime manners of thinking and feeling. To work out this point would be one of the most interesting literary essays.

Leaving these preliminary remarks about translation in general for what they are, we now have to ask if it is already possible to make a sketch, to give even a glimpse, of Aryan literature in general. Here we can give the answer that, although thousands of books, and many good works, have been written about the literature of the different Aryan nations, although some comprehensive and encyclopedical work is beginning to be done in Germany (I mean, of course, the well-known „Grundrisse", published by Trübner), yet there does not exist one work, it seems, in which Aryan literature, from the most remote eastern parts of India to the most remote western ones, once inhabited by the Celts and now-a-days by their descendants, has been treated according to one, uniform system. There are many workers, but only a few thinkers, in the field of science, and oftentimes those scientific men who stand outside the universities, outside what the great Haeckel calls „das unerquickliche Tages-Gezänk der Europäischen Gelehrtenschulen" (the tedious daily wrangling of the learned schools of Europe) see much sharper and better the deficiencies of science, and the new lines which any science has to take, than those who belong to the universities and schools. [1] The same work which Bopp,

[1] Cp. Bleek, Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache (1868), Vorwort des Herausgebers, p. V. — I have to add that what they call now-a-days „Urgermanische Grammatik" (as published, for instance, by Streitberg) has already been predicted in 1868 by Bleek, in the work quoted, p. 42. I also found there a very interesting remark about Celtic, p. 43: Der Einfluss des Keltischen auf die Bildung der romanischen Verhältnisse ist noch lange nicht in genügender Weise gewürdigt worden — and really it seems as if the Celtic influence upon Roman (and English) language and literature might be studied more thoroughly. It seems to me very necessary to found in England some „centre" for Celtology, as the languages are dying out

Schleicher, Brugmann and others tried to do for the Aryan languages, ought also to be done for Aryan literature, at least a beginning could be made.

The materials, ready for such a work, are immense, but still it does not seem impossible to draw the future lines of such a very interesting study. Let us consider the groups for a moment. The Indian and Iranian (or Eranian?) groups are pretty well known, especially the former, as regards the languages, but a comparative study of their literature seems to be neglected; such a study should also include, perhaps, the Hellenic group, which forms the intermediate link between Asia and Europe (the Hellenes of to-day considering themselves, unconsciously, as non-Europeans, and using the expression εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, stin Ewrópin, when going to France for instance). [A Greek section of the international congresses of Orientalists has been introduced lately, and I think this fact can become important for Hellenic studies]. — The Italian group comprises a rich literature, which really can be called a world-literature, as it embraces not only ancient and modern Latin, but also the Romanic languages, amongst which the French occupies such a high place, such an international rank. We have already quoted Bleek's opinion that the Celtic element in this (and English) literature ought to be studied more, and really such an inquiry throws much light, I suppose, upon many peculiarities of French literature. When Caesar says: „Nearly the whole „of Gaul pursues with the greatest possible energy two „things, namely military affairs and witty expressions" (Pleraque Gallia duas res religiosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui), he sketches in one short sentence the character of the Celts of his times, one century before Christ and before the invasion of the Romans, and it is very remarkable that this character has maintained itself so strongly during twenty centuries, till the days of General Boulanger. The influence of Celtic literature upon the modern English character and literature ought

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fast. So Mr. A. W. Moore (isle of Man) writes to me also. A strong central all-comprising society (periodical) could do much perhaps to collect from all parts (from France also) necessary material.

also to be studied thoroughly, and as the Celts form only one group, belonging to the great Indo-European family, the relations between this and the other groups may be studied, till we can find perhaps some common Aryan elements.

Besides these groups, we have the Hellenic family (so far as it belongs to Europe) and the Letto-Slavic and Teutonic ones. All these possess an old and highly developed literature, among which the literature of the Slavs is not yet so generally known as it deserves to be. [1] For a comparative study perhaps the Greek group is the most interesting of all, as its literature forms such an uninterrupted chain from the very dawn of civilisation in Europe till the present time; as the monuments of its three great periods, the ancient, the medieval and the modern one, are for a great part published and well-known — especially in our days of a revival of Byzantine studies — and as the Hellenic race is so very interesting from nearly every point of view. A further development of this truth must be left to special lectures, but we shall have an opportunity of recurring to the subject.

Now, to study comparatively the literature of the Aryan race, we can adopt the method of considering separately the three great elements of literature, the epic, the lyrical poetry, and the drama. I do not separate poetry from prose (as novels, for instance, belong also to modern epic literature), and I state from the very outset that there exist many links between these three elements, apart

[1] Cp. such translations as „Iván Ilyitch, and other stories", by Count L. N. Tolstoï, transl. from the Russian by N. H. Dole, London, 1889; and the French translations of the works of Ivan Tourgénieff, and many others. — I would also draw attention to the Archiv für slavische Philologie, written in German and published in Vienna, which contains many important articles. The numerous Russian sources are, for the greater part, not accessible to the public and to the majority of scholars, by reason of the great difficulty in learning and reading fluently the Russian language. The same may be said, more or less, of Bohemian (Czechisch), Polish and other important Slavic languages and dialects, amongst which the Russian predominates. — A bibliography of Russian literature is given by Scherr II 385 sqq. (note), but since the appearance of this work (1881) much has been done, and much more remains still to be done, towards a fair knowledge of Slavic literature in Western countries.

from the modern musical drama, which opens perhaps a new field of literature. It seems to me that the highest forms, the most refined ones, of these three elements have only been developed by the Aryan race; but we ought to be careful in our judgment, as, for instance, the Ural-Altaic and other races possess also dramatic literature, and we do not know enough about them. In his description of the Japanese drama Posnett remarks that the prominence of the chorus, of dance and song and music, the gradual introduction of individual actors distinct from the chorus, the gradual subordination of the chorus to the actors in the development of the drama, the small number of the actors, the use of masks and splendid dresses, the „statuesque immobility of the actors", the „intonation of the recitative", the representation of several plays in succession, have all their parallels in the drama of Athens. [1] But nevertheless, there are many facts which seem to prove not only the superiority in language and history (agglutinative being inferior to inflectional languages), but also a superiority in literature, which forms such an important part of civilisation.

Putting lyrical literature (i. e. poetry and prose, which cannot be separated from a higher point of view) aside for a moment — we can say that no race on earth has developed such a rich epic and dramatic literature as the Aryan.

In epic literature I have only to quote: the two great Sanskrit epics, Firdausí's Sháh Námeh, the Celtic tales; the epics of Tasso and Ariosto; Dante; the modern French epic literature, amongst which the realistic novel (le roman naturaliste) predominates; Homer and medieval Greek epic literature; the old Russian epic song of Igor; the Niebelungenlied; the Lusiads of Camoens; the epic poems of Vondel and Bilderdijk; the Frithiofs Saga of Tegnér; the modern epic literature, including ballads, novels, and

[1] Compar. Liter. p. 201—202. This question of the intonation of the recitative is very important for classical studies, as the dialogue of the classical dramas has also been recitative very probably, and as a minute and comparative study of it will resolve the difficult problem of quantity in the ancient metres and rhythms. Cf. my Dutch article: Bijdragen tot de leer der oud-Grieksche verskunst, published in the „Hellas" (1896) vol VI.

the like, of Germany; Milton's Paradise Lost, and the whole development of English epic and novelistic literature, including such works as Carlyle's French Revolution — I do not think any race can show treasures to be compared with these.

In dramatic literature the same richness prevails. I can only endeavour to quote a few specimens. In India we have the rich development of the Sanskrit drama (Kâlidâsa). The Italian group comprises first the native and the artificially-borrowed dramatic literature, and also the rich Spanish drama, the Italian and the French dramatic literature, both very important down to the present day. The Hellenic group has developed a drama from antiquity down to our time (Rangavis, and others). Perhaps the most sublime and the most perfect development belongs to the Teutonic group, as we have only to quote the all-embracing name of Shakespeare, the German tragedy and comedy of this century (from Goethe and Schiller to Sudermann), and the modern Scandinavian drama of Ibsen (Bj. Björnson, Strindberg, and others) which has been introduced into several parts of Europe. — It seems quite certain that there is no race, which can rival I do not say the quantity, but the quality of this dramatic literature.

The so-called musical drama of Wagner ought here to be cited; is it a higher evolution, or not, of the dramatic, perhaps of the epic, lyrical and dramatic literature combined? It seems to me that there is still a great want of harmony between the vocal and the verbal elements of this „Musikdrama der Zukunft", as some Germans call it; but perhaps this and other deficiencies [some of the words and verses, which appear in the „dramas" of Wagner, contain nonsense] can be improved, and the musical drama may prove to be a more perfect form of literature than has been produced up to the present day; we have to watch its evolution and to study its formal and spiritual elements, as without any doubt the different arts, working together, can be perfectionated, and dramatic productiveness has not yet spoken its last word. On the contrary, it seems to me that we are now living in a great and important period of transition, during which the wonderful new discoveries in industry, chemistry, photography, cinematography and the like, prepare themselves to create new means and in-

struments for the imagination of mankind, and the different ways in which this imagination can be expressed. The opera („operetta"), the musical drama, etc. contain perhaps the germs, from which a much more comprehensive form of future drama might be developed.

Before we leave the Aryan race and turn to other races, I add some remarks on lyrics and the lyrical element in literature, and on the superiority of the drama with regard to epic and lyrical poetry. The „lyric" — Posnett remarks — has varied from sacred or magical hymns and odes of priestbards, only fulfilling their purpose when sung, and perhaps never consigned to writing at all, down to written expressions of individual feeling from which all accompaniments of dance or music have been severed, and nothing remains but such melody as printed verse can convey, and the eye or ear of the individual reader detect.[1] The lyrical poetry of the Aryans, so widely spread over Asia and Europe, is also very rich and remarkable, from the „Meghadūta" and „Gītagovinda" in Sanskrit to the sublime lyrics of Shelley and the beautiful verses of Tennyson, Longfellow, Edgar Allan Poe, Swinburne and others.

There is, of course, an enormous diversity in lyrical literature, but still, taken as a whole, it seems to be inferior to dramatic as it is more individual and personal, whereas the drama shows the individual as being a member of human society, as being only one of the innumerous links of the great universe. and combines also personal lyrical feelings with dramatic action. As devoting yourself to the benefit of human society is a much higher form than working only for the profit of yourself or your family, so dramatic art shows a higher evolution than the onesided lyrical art, and it is a very remarkable fact that the Semites, a great number of whom in Europe seem to regard trade as the usual form of human existence (the Hebrews, the Jews especially), have a very personal and individual lyrical and religious poetry, but no dramatic literature. The Jews are very sharp and clever, but they do not seem to be creative as a whole, with a few exceptions. (I use „creative" here in the sense of imagination, of imaginative faculty.)

[1] Compar. Liter. p. 40.

Take the great Jewish writers and poets, and you will observe that their talent, great as it is, shows itself much more on the critical than on the creative side. The forte of Lessing seems to me his critical work, not his drama, and the same observation can be made of Heine and Börne, both very witty Jews, but more critical than creative. The Dutch poet Da Costa is also sometimes very personal and individual in his verses and feelings. Whether the mixture of Aryan and Semitic race and blood will be able to change this predominant Semitic (perhaps rather Jewish) characteristic is difficult to say, as we possess no data on which to base our judgment. As the Jews now-a-days have a great influence in Europe, possessing a large part of the capital and the press, a comparison between Semitic and Aryan literature, which I have touched only in these lines, would be very useful not only for the science of literature but also for the science of ethnology. [1]

Leaving now the predominant Aryan race, we continue our way through the different continents and the various races of mankind, and after quoting the people which speaks the Basque or Eskuara, an incorporating language, [2] we come to that vast group of agglutinative languages, which is spread all over Asia and a part of Europe, and to which the Japanese also seem to belong, I mean the

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[1] The comparison of the Semitic and the Aryan race, and of their mutual relations, is also of the highest importance for religion and Christianity. „Christianity (Professor Drakoules remarks) wants the sunshine of Hellenism, namely sweetness and light. We need a new refulgence of the principle of love, of humaneness, and recognition of the spiritual universe, all of which are of the essence of Hellenism. Sacerdotalism, which is of the essence of Hebraism, has had its day, and the future of religion is with the breezes of Hellenic liberalism, which venerates the priest but listens only to the prophet". (Neohellenic language and literature, Oxford, London 1897, p. 68.)

[2] Cp. Webster and Vinson, Basque Legends, London 1879, and Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 264—265 (legend of the Tartaro or One-eyed Kyklops, which seems — Sayce remarks — the sole fragment of their folklore that has not been borrowed from abroad). The question of the character both of the Basque and of the Etruscan languages ought to be solved finally.

Altaic race or races, speaking the Ural-Altaic or Ugro-Altaic, or Turanian(?) languages. The literature of this important race is still very little known, there are many works containing mythology, folklore, epic tales, etc. like Castrén's Vorlesungen über die finnische Mythologie, edited by Schiefner (St. Petersburg 1853), Castrén's Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker, nebst samojedischen Märchen und tatarischen Heldensagen, also edited by Schiefner (St. Petersburg 1857), and other works of later date, but they are not generally known.

The Finnic Kalévala (Sayce remarks) is an epic worthy of comparison with Homer or the Nibelungen Lied. [1] Its 22,000 verses, it is true, were redacted into a whole by Lönnrot and Castrén only within the preceding century, but the popular lays which compose it, though of varying age, all refer to the same cycle of mythology, to the same heroes, and the same legendary facts. The adventures of the three divine smiths — Wäinänöinen, Ilmarinnen, and Lemmakainen or Ahti, their travels in the underground world of Pohiola, their final struggle with Luhi, „the hostess of Pohiola", and their search for the mysterious Sampi, are equal in interest and imagination to the best products of national genius found elsewhere. Similar to the Kalévala is the Kalevipoëg of the Esthonians, which however still wants its Lönnrot to make it thoroughly complete. — The half-savage Ugric Voguls of the Ural, too, have their epic, consisting of long poems

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[2] „Ne peut-on pas dire sans exagération que le *Kalévala* doit se placer à côté de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée, de l'Énéide, des Niebelungen, du Paradis perdu, de la Louisiade — ces grands chefs-d'oeuvre de l'esprit humain?"

„Wäinänöïnen, l'Orphée finlandais, a su tirer de sa harpe magique des sons aussi mélodieux et aussi saisissants que son grand devancier. L'ingénieux forgeron Ilmarinen, et surtout le jeune et insouciant Yonkahaïnen, sont autant de types frappants, qui feraient honneur au génie d'un Milton on d'un Camoëns; et la sombre Louhi, cette reine rusée et féroce du triste pays de Pohjola, rappelle vaguement la fière et indomptable Brunehault des Niebelungen. Nous possédons d'excellentes traductions de ce magnifique poëme, mais elles ne peuvent être comparées à l'original, dont la lecture a été une révélation pour moi". — Ch. E. de Ujfalvy, Essai de grammaire Vêpse ou Tschoude du Nord, d'après les données de M.M. Ahlqvist et Lönnrot. Paris 1875. 8°. Dédicace.

on the Creation, the Deluge, and the giants of the ancient world, which have recently been made known to us (in 1864) by Hunfálvy. — Even the Lapps have their mythical epic; the myths and tales of the Tatars (Tartars) are equally numerous. In short, throughout the Ural-Altaic family we find a rich outgrowth of myth and legend, and the agglutinative character of the language, and the consequent transparency of the proper names, make it easy to trace their original meaning. Ural-Altaic poetry is, like Assyrian and Hebrew, parallelistic, and mostly in the metre made familiar to us by Longfellow's „Hiawatha." [1]

The Magyárs of Hungary also belong to that same important family, and their very rich literature is of course better known to us. In disregarding the distinctions of gender, in analyzing the forms of speech — it is Sayce also who remarks it — in making each word tell its own tale, and in assigning one definite signification to each element of their grammatical machinery, the Turanian (?) languages resemble English, and like the latter mark *a high level of intelligence and power*. The same may be said probably of Hungarian, but it is quite sure that Hungarian literature proves a high intelligence and power. They have many popular songs, and since many centuries a rich literary history, consisting of all kinds of literature.

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[1] Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 197—199. (A Dutch art. on the Kalévala has been written by Prof. H. M. Meyboom in *De Gids*). The Kalévala was first published in 1835 (12.000 verses), cp. the short notice in Scherr, Literatur II 356, and some bibliography of Finnic literature ibid. II 357 (note). — Cp. on the Ural-Altaic (or Turanian?) family in general Sayce's work, vol. 2, p 188 sqq. and also Jos. Grunzel, Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, nebst einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch. Leipzig, W. Friedrich, 1895. 8o. 90 p., who remarks in his introduction „dass wir es in dem gewältigen Ländercomplex von der Halbinsel Kamtschatka und Japan einerseits, bis zum Bosporus, zur Donau und zur Ostsee andererseits, mit den Verzweigungen eines Sprachstammes zu thun haben, der in seinem kunstvollen und dennoch einfachen und klaren Baue berufen ist, in einer auf naturwissenschaftlicher Basis begründeten Linguistik die hervorragendste (?) Stellung einzunehmen" (p. 3). — Cp. also de Ujfalvy, Essai de grammaire Vêpse ou Tschoude du Nord, Paris, 1875. 8o. 128 p.

In the preceding century the popular poet Petöfi has had a great reputation, and so has also the poet and novelist Moritz Jókai, who (according to Scherr) with the Frenchman Dumas and the Polish poet Kraszewski has been the most productive author of the 19th century. Philology also occupies a high rank in Hungary, and the Hungarian scholar Iwan Télfy has proved in his writings that all the ancient classical metres have been successfully introduced and imitated in his language [1].

To the literature of the Altaic race belongs also the Japanese, as it now seems to be proved by linguistics that the Japanese language must be incorporated with that great family. B. H. Chamberlain makes the following general remarks in his „Classical Poetry of the Japanese" (London 1880, Introduction): The impression that the Japanese are a nation of imitators is in the main correct. What was not to be looked for was, that one whole branch of that literature should, weathering the storm that shook its infancy, have preserved down to our own times the unaltered form and the almost unaltered substance of the earliest manifestation of Japanese thought. This one original product of the Japanese mind is the native poetry. (Chamberlain gives specimens of ballads, love songs, elegies, miscellaneous poems, short stanzas, etc. of the Japanese.) — Posnett has drawn attention to the prominence of Nature, which is found in the Chinese and also in the Japanese drama. He has given some examples of the characters and names of the Japanese plays, translated by Mr. Chamberlain in his „Classical Poetry of the Japanese", and pointed out that they show want of individual characterisation, and predominence of allegorical or abstract ideas and natural description. Japanese literature — Dickins remarks — begins with the *Kojiki* or „Record of Ancient Matters", which appeared in A. D. 712. During the 8. and 9. centuries various works

[1] cp. Charissis in the „Hellas" III 31 (1891), Télfy in the „Hellas" III 392, and III 432 sqq. (Hungarian and Greek text), Csaplár in the „Hellas" V 1—26 (1895). — Scherr, Literatur, vol. 2, p. 429 sqq. who erroneously states that the Hungarian language belongs to no family of languages on earth [on Hungarian lyrics cp. my art. „Hongaarsche Lyriek" in De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam, 1888, with some translations].

were produced, none of which, if we except the Anthologies, have any claim to admiration on literary grounds. But in the next century the Japanese mind seems to have taken a fresh flight, or rather to have awakened to a consciousness of its powers, and the remarkable series of *monogatari or romances*, of which the Tale of Taketori is at once the earliest example and the type, gave a lustre hitherto unknown to the literature of Japan. — Dickins cites also amongst these early romances the *Genji-monogatari*, the history of a Japanese Don Juan, which holds the chief place in the estimation of native critics.[1]

I have been somewhat more extensive in my short essay of a sketch of the literature of the Altaic races (which hardly deserves the name of essay), as there seems to have arisen in these times a very remarkable movement in some of the peoples and nations, which belong to it. Whether this can be said of the Turks is yet doubtful; but firstly the Finnish literary society at Helsingfors has done a great deal of useful work, and there are many workers in the so little known fields of Finnic (and in general of Altaic) languages and literature; secondly the Hungarians or Magyárs display always a great ability and literary movement; and last not least, it seems that the Japanese will not only play an important part in Asiatic politics, but that this progress goes side by side with the development of their language and literature, and — I may not forget to mention also — of their industry and art.

Next to that great family of Ural-Altaic languages (which are taken together by Friedrich Müller and by

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[1] The Old Bamboo-hewer's Story (taketori no okina no monogatari). The earliest of the Japanese romances, written in the 10th century. Translated with observations and notes, by F. V. Dickins. With illustr. etc. London, Trübner 1888. 8°. (passim). This publication seems to be very important, as the language of the text, almost wholly archaic Japanese, is the oldest prose of the Altaic race. Dickins' work contains also the text, commentaries, and sketch of Japanese grammar and vocabulary. (Cp. the periodical: The Hansei—Zasshi, Nishikata — Machi, Tokyo, Japan.)

[For Turkish literature, also belonging to the Altaic races, I must refer (for the moment) to the bibliography given in A. Müller's Türkische Grammatik, and to Scherr, Literatur I 99—102.]

Ratzel under the head of one great, nay enormous family, called „Mongols"), come the Dravidians or Dravidas. The agglutinative languages of these peoples, amongst whom the Tamil seems to show the most ancient structure of language and to possess the oldest literature, have been described and compared by the missionary R. Caldwell, in his very interesting Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages (London, 2d edition, 1876). He also gives an estimate of Dravidian literature. Nothing can exceed — he remarks — the refined elegance and „linked sweetness" of many Telugu and Tamil poems; but at the same time he notices an inferiority, as result of a slavery to custom and precedent, at least equal to what we meet with in the later Sanscrit. Literature (he continues) could never flourish, where the following distich (contained in the „Nan-nûl", or classical Tamil grammar) was accepted as a settled principle:

„On whatsoever subjects, in whatsoever expressions, with whatsoever arrangement"
„Classical writers have written, so to write is denoted propriety of style."

But this peculiarity could be compared with the Alexandrian canon of classical Greek writers, and the slavish following of Attic dialect and style by the later Greek writers for so many centuries; also by the slavish following of the three unities in the drama, ascribed to the theory of Aristotle; and such questions, as also a comparison with the Dravidian alliteration and rhyme, might perhaps institute a new department of comparative literature. [1]

Remaining in Asia, and in the Asiatic Indies (that large group of islands belonging partly to the English, partly to the Dutch, and also to some other governments) we

[1] Cf. R. Caldwell, Comparat. Grammar etc. 1st edition, London 1856, p. 89 and passim. — Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 46. — My own „Versuch" in the „Hellas" 1896 p. 117, to which can be added Ascoli, Vorlesungen (Halle 1872) p. 193 sqq., and Hunter, A Comparat. Dictionary of the (non-aryan) Languages of India and High Asia. Lond. 1868. Cp. R. N. Cust, A sketch of the modern languages of the East Indies. Lond. Trübner 1878. p. 121: There is (in Siamese) an enormous religious and secular literature, and it is deemed an elegance to have many words in the same sentence commencing with the same letter." — etc. etc.

still notice a great number of various languages, tribes or nations, which speak them; they are for the greater part isolating, many also agglutinative, some inflectional. Only a few examples, of course, can be cited, and we cannot mention in these brief lectures all the more or less important groups, as for instance the Tibeto-Burman one, which can be studied from Mr. Hodgson's Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepál and Tibet (1874), and from other sources. In 1878 Cust published a practical sketch of the modern languages of the East Indies (Lond. Trübner, 198 p.), in which he treats the 1. Aryan 2. Dravidian 3. Colarian 4. Tibeto-Burman 5. Khasi 6. Tai 7. Mon-Anam 8. Malayo-Polynesian families, and gives also a short account of the literature, which exists in those languages.

But we must not forget to mention the important empire of China, and the old and interesting Chinese literature, because the learned labours of European scholars have done so much to make Chinese civilisation and literature known to us. I have only to cite the translation of the Chinese Classics by the late Professor Legge, and the French translations of Chinese plays given by Bazin in his Théatre Chinois (1838), to mention the more important ones; but many other scholars have contributed to our science of Chinese literature, in England, in Holland, in France, in Germany, and elsewhere. [1] Excellent remarks and comparisons between the Chinese lyrics and drama and those of Western nations have been made in Mr. Posnett's work. He has pointed out how the paternal government of China and the sentiments of family life, which form the striking social characteristic of that vast empire, have left their marks upon the ideals of Chinese

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[1] *Davy*, on the poetry of the Chinese; *Rémusat*, Mélanges asiatiques; *Legge*, Chinese Classics (1861): *Max Müller's* Essays (1869); *Douglas* on Chinese lang. and literature; *Victor v. Strauss'* German translation of the Schi-King; *d'Hervey Saint Denys*, Poésies de l'époque des Thang (1862); *Klein*, Geschichte des Drama's, III volume; translations of Chinese plays by *Davis*, *Saint Julien* and *Bazin*. In Holland, the works on China and the Chinese of the professors *G. Schlegel* and *J. J. M. de Groot* of Leiden. — *Scherr*, Literatur I 17 sqq.. And many other sources. (cf. the note in *Posnett's* Compar. Literature, p. 321.]

literature in general, and upon the Chinese drama in particular, and agrees with M. Bazin (in his introduction to the Théatre Chinois) that Chinese poetry requires every dramatic work to have a moral end or meaning. The very practical Chinese character seems to show itself also in their literature, of which utilitarianism, so to say, is the ideal. According to many authorities China is a petrefaction, and so a study of Chinese literature seems rather of historical than of aesthetical interest. Comparative literature shows, for instance, that the singing character of the Chinese theatre reminds us in some respects of the Athenian chorus; that the introduction of philosophical speculation by Menander could be easily illustrated by parallels from Indian and Chinese plays; that the earliest kind of dramatic spectacle among the Chinese seems to have been pantomimic dances closely connected with religion, and that these symbolic dances have many parallels in the dramatic literature of Western nations (compare also the description in Xenophon's Anabasis), that nothing resembling an epic has been discovered in Chinese literature, and what can be the cause of this curious fact; and other peculiarities [1]. As soon as the study of Chinese, and the knowledge of Chinese dramatic (and other) literature will be more accessible, and thus more common in Europe, a comparative study of that literature with the literary evolution of other races can be made, but for the moment we have to abstain somewhat, from lack of knowledge and of necessary materials.

Passing from the Asiatic continent to what we can call the East Indies (Insulinde, as it has been poetically called by the Dutch poet Multatuli and others), we have before us the widely-spread and very important agglutinative family of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, and (so we may also say perhaps) the Malayo-Polynesian race, reaching even Madagascar in the far West, as it has been

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[1] Taken mostly from Posnett's Comparat. Literature, passim, where also some fine specimens of English translations are given. — According to Professor de Groot in his Dutch work on the Emoy (Amoy) Chinese, Chinese plays are nearly all what Dutchmen call „spektakelstukken," nothing else and nothing better than that.

proved that the Malagasi or Malgache belongs also to that group. With this group can be linked together the so-called Polynesian and Melanesian groups, although these names, and also the name of „Papuan", given to the inhabitants of New-Guinea, the Philippines, etc. are merely words without any fixed and distinct meaning, and Professor Kern, in his great Dutch work on the Fiji-language, has applied to them the well-known words of Goethe's Faust:

„Denn eben wo Begriffe fehlen,
„Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein."

The literature of these races, of which I began to study a little the Western part some time ago (as many valuable sources in Holland were accessible to me), can in future times become very useful to comparative studies of literature, as many able works have been published on special subjects, and as the poetical and literary development of some of them seems to be very old and highly instructive. A people, for instance, like the Javanese, who use three quite distinct forms of language according to the rank of the speaker and him, whom he addresses (the so-called krâmâ, madya or middle-speech, and ngoko), possess an old and very refined civilisation, as the language already shows, and an interesting literature. The same cannot be said of the Malays or Malayans or „Maleiers" (Dutch), a race which is spread all over the archipelago, but still their civilisation and their traditions are very old, and the Malayan language is really a world-language, being spoken everywhere as the „lingua franca" of these extensive regions.

Dutch scholars have done much for a thorough knowledge of these peoples, but it is to be regretted that much more has been published upon their ethnology — I only cite the learned monographies of the late Professor Wilken of Leiden, published after his death by C. M. Pleyte — and upon linguistics — bij Professor Kern of Leiden, and some of his pupils — than upon the folklore and literature, primitive as it may be. Still the periodicals, printed at The Hague and at Batavia by learned societies, contain many contributions to literature also. For Javanese language and poetry much has been

done by scholars like Roorda, Van der Tuuk, Kern, Brandes, and others; Javanese plays (called Wajangs) have been translated into Dutch, and so on. I cannot dwell longer upon this subject in general, but I will give some specimens taken, for the Western part, from the labours of the Dutch missionary Matthes, and for the Eastern regions from the publications of the Englishman Sidney H. Ray of London.

SIXTH LECTURE.

## General view of the literature of the different races of mankind (Introduction).

(Part II.)

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In the preceding lecture I mentioned the labours of Matthes, as illustrating the Malayo-Polynesian, and of Ray as illustrating the Oceanic philology. Matthes has devoted himself to the knowledge of the Bugis and Makassar language and literature, spoken in the island of Celebes or Selebes, as Riedel proposed to write it. (in Dutch: „Makassaarsch en Boegineesch").

The following literal translation of a funeral song of a Makassar wife for her deceased husband (a fragment) shows that beautiful expression and intense poetical feeling is found as well amongst these races, as amongst our higher civilized (so at least we believe ourselves) European ones.

„If it were possible for the dead to return to life, for „the blessed to tread this earth again, I would invite him the „recently deceased to come here, him the dead who went „over to yonder regions, I would address thus: Return — „I should say — return here, to sit down with the „members of the family, and to enter thy bedroom. My „eyes no longer meet thee; I cannot chat with thee. „Whether I turn my eyes to the East or to the West „or turn them to the South or the North, they do not „find thee. Whether I seek thee under the ground or above

„our dwelling; whether I enter the rooms, or glance at „the inmates of the house, and raise my voice, alas! „you do not answer. Even when I have a ragged appea- „rance, from despair, you do not produce any sound. „I nearly always sleep, wholly wrapped in my clothes, „I sit down always snapping my fingers. And when I „sleep, I continually wipe my tears; when I turn „my head for a moment, it is only to shake it from „disappointment; as my hope is cut off, and in vain „do I seek thee. My state of mind is like the water, „scattered over the ground. „Who can bring that toge- „ther? — My condition is like that of a rosary, the string „of which has been broken. Who will thread the beads „together once more? — You ought to have remained on „this world; you ought not to have left your place amongst „the inhabitants of this earth. Your body was still „so young, my beloved! Your years were so few in „number. You were quite in the bloom of life! You were „like a Sun, that is far from the height of midday. You „were like a Moon, that still remains in the West. And „yet you are already dead, and descended under the „ground. Yet you are dead, put in a wooden house. Over- „whelming is the heart-ache, intense is the longing of „the soul, which you left behind you. Were there but „a possibility to exchange with the dead! O if that „existed, how should I have wished to go to the blessed „before you! how should I have desired to die myself, „in order to let you live! Such an ever-present sorrow, „I cannot bear it; such a grief, always returning, I „am not able to withstand it. O were I but dead, and „could they but say about me: she died from heart-sore „over her loss. Why is it denied to the blessed, to „return? Why is it not allowed to them, to return on „earth? I stretch my hands towards Allah and I pray to „the Lord, who is not a humble being, to a Blessed one „who never left a wish unfulfilled! I implore that you „may be happy, sitting in a safe place; that you may „come into the presence of his throne, where he receives „princely homage; that you may appear before the „lustre of the Majestic, of the true Lord, who has „no equals, before the unique Prince, who exists only „through himself! O may we have the fortune to be

„introduced together into Heaven, and to remain for ever „in the dwellings of pleasure!" [1]

There is something in this lyrical song which reminds us of the Canticle, there is a tender and also a majestic element in it, and it is especially interesting that it is a funeral song of a woman, as the female element in literature deserves greater attention than has generally been paid to it. As the influence of woman upon the increase of knowledge has been studied by the great historian Buckle (in his Essay on this subject), the influence of women upon the development of literature could be studied as well, and so the comparative study of literature consists of many special parts, which are all linked together. As language and literature cannot be separated, we ought to study the poetry of races who use agglutinative languages in comparison with those who use inflectional ones (inflection being a higher state than agglutination, being the real evolution of it), and to inquire whether a higher form of expression, of the instrument so to say, involves also a higher and more perfect form of thinking and feeling, which seems highly probable.

The study of agglutination and inflection in languages can become very useful to the comparative study of literature, the origin of words, the word-formation and word-composition being not so much studied and not so well known now-a-days as phonetics, but being of the greatest interest for a historical study of mankind. In some Aryan languages a kind of agglutination still continues to go side by side with inflection, and I endeavoured to

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[1] B. F. Matthes, Eenige proeven van Boegineesche en Makassaarsche poëzie. Uitgegeven van wege het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië, ter gelegenheid van het 5e Internat. Congres der Orientalisten te Leiden. 's Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1883. 8° p. 53—55. Cf. his introduction: „Hier is het (viz. the courts of the native princes) dat men de meeste beschaving moet zoeken, niet bij de mannen, want die zijn doorgaans te groote liefhebbers van jagen, en te zeer aan opium-schuiven, het laten vechten van hanen en dobbelspel verslaafd, om naar vermeerdering van kennis te streven, *maar bij de vrouwen, waaronder men soms aantreft, die inderdaad zeer bedreven, niet enkel in het vervaardigen van handwerken, maar ook in het lezen en schrijven der inlandsche geschriften zijn.*"

show this interesting fact in a monography, published some years ago, in which especially the Greek (ancient and modern) language has been treated as an example, but with many comparative specimens, taken not only from the other Aryan languages, but from nearly all the more important families of languages in the world [1]. Now, to return to our subject, we could try to compare the agglutinative form, in which this Makassar wife has expressed her deep lyrical sentiment, with the inflectional form of the Dutch translation, and here again it is unquestionable that for a deeper study of the special questions, which comparative literature has to illustrate, a knowledge of the original languages and texts is required. In his translation of the already mentioned Japanese romance Dickins says that „to render literally an Oriental text involves the „effacement of whatever charm the original may possess", (p. 39), but as we see now, the question is much more intricate, and lies much deeper; it is not only the charm, it is the evolution of the ideas of mankind, in relation to the form which serves to express them, which ought to be studied as the most important part of the general history of human civilisation. The relation of the form to the ideas involves a study of the original in many cases, and not only of translations.

Let us now, for our second example, turn to the so-called Oceanic languages, a merely geographical term of course but which we can adopt for the moment. What Farrar says about these languages, is also true with regard to their primitive literature, much more primitive of course than that of the Malayo-Polynesian race or races. It is these uncultivated languages — he remarks — more than any others, which are likely to throw a faint glimmer of light over what may be called that *Eocene* period of the human mind, which precedes the dawn of all history ..... in fact, the more nakedly a language displays the crude infantile expedients of a primitive speech, the

[1] cp. my „Beiträge zur Lehre der Wortzusammensetzung im Griechischen, im Indogermanischen, und in anderen Sprachfamilien". Leiden, Sijthoff 1896. — I have already prepared a second edition of this monography, with numerous fresh examples, taken not only from Greek but also from many other languages.

more forcible the contrast it presents to all the languages with which we are familiar, *the more entirely is it worthy of our philological examinations.*" And the same words can be applied to the study of comparative literature. [1] In some respects (it is Ray who remarks it) the Eastern languages of the Oceanic family have the advantage over the Western. Malay, for example, is pre-eminently a commercial rather than a literary language, and, though known for centuries, has no national classic, no national hero, and its literature consists for the greater part of translations from other tongues, of trivial songs, and unimportant histories. Even Javanese, the most cultivated of the Malayan tongues, which has an ancient and sacred dialect — the Kawi — has no purely indigenous epic, and its chief poem, the Bratayuda, is founded on the Sanskrit Mahabharata. The native heroes of the Malays and Javanese, the memory of whom has been obliterated by the flood of literature from Hindu and Mohammedan sources, can never be restored, but far away to the east, among the savage tribes speaking a kindred, if now widely separated language, we find a native mythology comparable in extent and poetry with those of India, Greece and Rome; having a national hero, and anthropomorphous gods directing and controlling the affairs of men. The epic, it is true, is wanting, but so was that of the Greeks before Homer, of the Hindus in the Vedic age, of the Scandinavians in heroic times. The materials and legends for the epic exist, but the peculiar dispersion of the race among innumerable islands has prevented the evolution of a national bard. [2]

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[1] Farrar, Language und Languages, p. 391, as cited by Sidney H. Ray, Importance and nature of the Oceanic languages (Royal Society of N. S. Wales, June 1892). A complete list of the publications of Mr. Ray is to be found in the periodical „Hellas" vol. 6, No. 4, Leiden 1897, p. 399—402.. For the Bratayuda, mentioned by Ray, cp. T. Roorda, Proeve van Javaansche poëzie uit het Jav. heldendicht de Brâtâ-Joedâ, of de strijd der Barâthâs. Een voorlezing. Leeuwarden 1841. 8°. 51 p. [In the Chapters on Language, of the same Rev. Fred. W. Farrar, quoted above, Lond. 1873, p. 95 sqq., we find an excellent exposition of the confuse and contradictory passages on the origin of language, to be found in the writings of Max Müller].

[2] S. H. Ray, Oceanic ethnology and philology; its progress and prospects. London 1894 [in the: Feestbundel aan P. J. Veth aangeboden], and the sources quoted in this little trea-

We can now try, for a moment, to compare Polynesian and Greek mythology. The Polynesians (we are once more indebted to Mr. Ray) have preserved in their songs and legends an elaborate and poetical cosmogony, having for its heroes a host of supernatural beings. The gods in heaven above are a family, and so it is in Greek and other mythologies. — They are Sá Tangaloa, the „Tangaloa" family, they assemble in council in „fale ula", the „bright home" of the highest Tangaloa, and sit in a circle while they deliberate. The same peculiarities are found in Greek and other mythologies. — They visit earth and return again to heaven, they partake of food and drink down below, just as they do in their own realms above, for up there too they have „fono" „cold food", to eat, the heavenly fishes, and they have the „kava" drink, made from the heavenly plant; they have birds of the air to do their bidding, and in heaven above the gods are swift to know and to requite the evil that is done among men." (Folk songs and myths from Samoa, translated by the Rev. G. Pratt, and cited by S. H. Ray). — The same, or nearly the same, occurs not only in Greek mythology, but in the mythology of many Indo-european and other nations. This similarity by no means proves a common origin, the problem is quite another one, and I will try to put it clearly before the eyes of the student, according to the Latin proverb: qui bene distinguit, bene docet. [1]

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tise. — A good chapter on comparative mythology has been written by Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 230 sqq. and bibliography, ibid. p. 358—359.

[1] Cp. H. Kern, Een mythologisch gedicht uit de Filippijnen, in the: Bijdragen Kon. Instituut, 's Gravenhage 1897, p. 506: Het is mij niet gelukt punten van overeenkomst tusschen de Bikolsche mythen of sagen en die van andere Mal. Pol. volken op te sporen. *Zekere algemeene trekken, die men over de geheele aarde verspreid aantreft, bewijzen natuurlijk niets voor een gemeenschappelijken oorsprong.* De meeste overeenkomst zou men mogen verwachten bij de zondvloedsage. Doch als men b.v. deze bij de Fidjiërs (F. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, p. 196) vergelijkt met de boven meegedeelde Bikolsche, treft men niets aan wat een gemeenschappelijken oorsprong doet veronderstellen. Hetzelfde geldt van het Zondvloedlied, te taï toko, der Marquesaseilanders (meegedeeld uit de hs. verzameling van Lawson door A. Fornander, An account of the Polynesian race I 225). Het

Mythology being nothing else but the primitive literature of mankind, a comparison between Polynesian and Greek (or Aryan) mythology can become very useful for the method of studying comparative literature in general. We have to ask what is the difference between Oceanic and Greek cosmogony, and in which points do they agree. Next, we have to inquire about the reason of these differences; and so there comes a very interesting but very intricate and difficult inquiry about the origin of both poetical tales, or series of tales. As body and soul are but one, forming what we call the individual, the undivided, we have to make an exact study of both races, and this cannot be easily done in this case, as the Oceanic cosmogony is a result of poetical thinking and feeling of *living beings* of the *present time* and of their predecessors, whereas the Greek one can be studied only from *books* and (partly also) from the *modern Greeks*. But unhappily a period of about 30 centuries separates these modern Greeks from the times of their ancestors, who produced such a cosmogony.

Still we can try to solve the problem, or a part of it. We can, to a certain point, form for ourselves an idea of the Greeks and the Greek society, during the times in which those tales and myths (which means the same) have been „made" [the Greek verb from which the word „poësis" or poetry has been formed meaning nothing else but to „make".] After that we have to compare the average type of the Polynesian tribe with that of the Greek or Hellenic one, and to consider the cirumstances in which both live, or have lived, to which also belongs the scenery and the climate. I know this is a very comprehensive and difficult, perhaps, for the moment at least, an impossible study, but on the other hand — human beings are a result of hereditary qualities, modified by the cir-

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Dayaksche verhaal bij H. Ling Roth, The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo I 300, wijkt ook geheel af. — In hoeverre de Bikolsche overleveringen vreemden invloed hebben ondergaan, is vooralsnog niet te bepalen", etc. etc. [What Kern remarks about Bikol, and Malayo-Polynesian mythology in general, can be applied to all comparisons in the field of comparative mythology, but I think the problem must be put otherwise].

cumstances in which they have been brought up. Their thoughts cannot be studied otherwise, as they are an exact reproduction of their material being, and so also the cosmogony, as a conglomeration of all the primitive thoughts and tales of a race, the cosmogony which we can call the very first beginning of epic literature amongst mankind, may be explained by an exposition of all those various „factors", which have worked together to produce it. Such inquiries will become in future times most curious chapters of the history of mankind, and comparisons of all the savage and lower races with the higher and highest developed ones will always prove to be a useful, nay an indispensable study.

These remarks having only been a short excursion, we now leave the great Malayo-Polynesian as well as the Polynesian and Melanesian groups, and we turn to the two other large continents of Australia (or Australasia) and America. With regard to Australia, the well-known „Whittaker's Almanack" for 1897 can teach us that „the „aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct, and the present „number may be estimated at about 100.000"; and it is equally well known that in Tasmania the aboriginals have already become quite extinct, the last, a female, „Truganini", having died in 1876. Besides some contributions, scattered in anthropological journals, and labours and grammars of missionaries, not much is generally known of the primitive literature of these nearly extinct tribes, and Australia in the future will be nothing else but an English colony, preserving only a faint tradition of the aboriginal tribes, who once have been the only inhabitants of the largest island in the world. [1]

It is to be regretted that so very little is known in Europe about the numerous families of languages in North-

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[1] Cp. the Journal of the Anthropolog. Institute, Febr. 1878, and the works of Threlkeld, Ridley, Friedr. Müller, and others, mentioned by Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 53 — The Australian grammar of Threlkeld, which I have seen, contains very valuable contributions. — Lepsius in his Standard Alphabet, p. 266 sqq. treats some Australian (or Papuan) languages. A comparative grammar of the Fiji language has been published in Dutch by Professor H. Kern, of Leiden.

and South-America, one of the reasons of this fact being, of course, the great intellectual prevalency of the (mixed) English race and English language which predominates in the North, whereas in South-America, where Spanish seems to be the prevailing language, the social conditions are so very unsettled, and general civilisation is so very backward, that not much attention has been paid to the ancient prehistoric civilisations, the study of which is so very interesting.

But still there are some excellent workers in this field, and as I have already mentioned in a preceding lecture the series of volumes, containing „Information respecting the Indian tribes of the United States" etc. and published by H. R. Schoolcraft in Philadelphia (since 1852), I have to add that since that time a good deal of fresh and important materials have been collected. „The mental characteristics of all the American tribes — says Professor Flower — have much that is in common; and the very different stages of culture to which they had attained at the time of the conquest, as that of the Incas and Aztecs, and the hunting or fishing tribes of the north and south, were not greater than those between different nations of Europe..... The best argument that can be used for the unity of the American race — using the word in a broad sense — is the great difficulty of forming any natural divisions founded upon physical characters. The important character of the hair does not differ throughout the whole continent", etc. etc. (On the classification of the varieties of human species, 1885). In 1872 an American scholar wrote that much still could be done in investigating, in a strictly philological manner, the language of the Dakota or Sioux Indians, and also tracing particularly the many Dakota names of mountains, hills, rivers, lakes, etc. to their true origin and meaning. They almost always contain (he says) some attractive allusion, something legendary or traditional, *which might lead* [I underline] *to most valuable results* in regard to the history, religious ideas, ancient usages, of this largest and most powerful of all the Indian tribes of North-America..... The field is comparatively new and exceedingly interesting; an immense deal has to be done in this domain, the real

labours of thorough and exhaustive investigation having not even yet begun. [1]

Since that year (1872) new materials have again been published, and in 1891 (to quote only one example) there appeared in New York Professor Daniel G. Brinton's work on „The American Race", in which the following classification has been made: North American tribes: I., The N. Atlantic group; II, The N. Pacific group: III, The Central group. — South American tribes; I, The S. Pacific group; II, The S. Atlantic group. — The same American scholar has also published many contributions to American philology, a brief mention of which is given by me in the volumes of the periodical „Hellas". [2]

The antiquities of Central and South America are yet very imperfectly known, but as an old American drama has been brought to light by some travellers and scholars of this century (although by others it is regarded as spurious), we have to mention the fact. The most precious literary document of the ancient Peruvians seems to be a real drama, as it is well known that theatrical performances always took place at the court of the Incas of Cuzko. This drama is called „Ollanta" after its hero, and fragments of it were first published in 1837. The whole text in the Kechua or Quichua (a very guttural) language, with a German translation, has been edited by von Tschudi. [3] This drama contains a story of love. — — Ollanta, a famous warrior, born outside the nobility of the Incas, has gained the sacrificing love of the princess Cusi Coyllur, daughter of the Inca Pachacutek. The Inca refuses, rather too late, the hand of his daughter

[1] F. L. O. Roehrig, The language of the Dakota or Sioux Indians. From the report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1871. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1872. 8o. p. 16. — The words of Mr. Roehrig can be applied to all the aboriginal American languages.

[2] Cf. „Hellas" Leiden 1896 VI 2, p. 105 sqq. Amerikanische Sprachen (in which the work of Brinton has been used), and „Hellas" VI 4, p. 457 „Note on American Literature", giving a list of Brinton's works. I should like to introduce into Europe such studies (and perhaps some university-chairs) relative to American philology.

[3] Published in Vienna, 1875, with a grammar and introduction. — Two German translations have been published by Wickenburg (1876) and by Flamberg (1877).

to the hero, and has her put into prison. Now Ollanta begins a rebellion, he intrenches himself in a fortress, and only after ten years, when Tupak Yupanki, Pachacutek's son and brother of Cusi Coyllur, has become Inca, he is overpowered by means of stratagem, and brought as a prisoner before his brother-in-law. In the meantime Ima Sumak, the little daughter born of Cusi Coyllur, has found out her immured mother, and effected her deliverance. Before the throne of their brother and brother-in-law the hero and the heroine meet, and the drama finishes with pardon and reconciliation. — Those who know the dramatic literature of Spain will be obliged to notice (Scherr adds) that the „Ollanta", in its general structure, in the sketch of the characters, in the whole action, in the style, bears a striking similarity to Spanish manner of writing, and so it has been suggested already that the priest of Sicuani, Valdez, who died in 1816, and whose nephew and heir Narciso Cuentas was the first possessor of the original manuscript, may be the author of the supposed American drama. Tschudi, on the contrary, in his learned and sagacious introduction, defends the antiquity and the genuineness of the play, which shortly after the Spanish conquest was written, probably by a Dominican monk, from the very old oral tradition. For us, the problem still remains, and it seems doubtful whether minute philological investigations will be able to solve it in the future. [1]

It is also a problem of the future to make a true sketch, from the original sources, of modern American literature, being Anglo-Saxon in language, but very mixed and very independent in its character. It is not enough to cite the names and the works of such writers as W. Cullen Bryant, Edgar Allan Poe (a true poet), or Longfellow, who became so popular in Europe; to quote Hawthorne and Mark Twain, and Walt Whitman and Bret Harte, and

[1] I cited the words of Scherr, Literatur I 9, who adds: „Die altperuanische Echtheit des Ollanta vorausgesetzt, hätten wir in diesem Drama, auch abgesehen von den wirklich dichterisch-schönen Zügen, welche dasselbe aufweist, das bedeutsamste Denkmal zu schätzen, welches die intellektuelle Kultur der voreuropäischen Zeit Amerika's aufgestellt hat." — Cp. for American antiquities in general the: Congreso internac. de Americanistas. Actas de la XI Reunión. Mexico 1897.

many others. My own knowledge is far too imperfect to try such a sketch, but it has already partly been done by others, and I am convinced that the critical study of modern American literature can be as useful for comparative literary studies, as the publications of aboriginal legends, poems and traditions. The evolution of the English language, as spoken in the new continents, will be an important factor in these comparisons; and — to quote Professor Sayce again — *when once the needless stumbling-block of a corrupt spelling is removed, everything seems to point out English as destined to be the common tongue of a future world.* (?) Not, perhaps, English as it is now spoken, with a few relics of primitive inflection still clinging to it, but such an English as the Pigeon-English of China which Mr. Simpson has prophesied will become the language of mankind (or rather a majority of mankind!). Comparative literature will have to deal with this problem. [1]

If we look from our starting-post, the rude dialects or languages of the South-African tribes, to what we can call our boundary. English as a world-language, spread from America and England all over other continents, we must never forget that we have purposely omitted many families of languages. containing also a mass of literature, as the time is not yet come to treat such a subject exhaustively. So Cust tells us that in Siamese, the richest in tones of the monosyllabic languages, there is an enormous sacred and secular literature, and that it is deemed an elegance to have many words in the same sentence commencing with the same letter [which can be compared with the old-German alliteration, and alliteration as widely spread in literature generally). [2] The learned Pott considered nearly 860 languages to exist all over the world, and he wrote in 1886: „Ich fürchte überhaupt, es lassen „sich auch inskünftige nicht die 860 Sprachen der Erde „vermöge genealogischen Nachweises unter einen Hut brin„gen, ausser man verstehe denn hierunter die, selbst trotz

[1] Sayce, The origin of language vol. 2, p. 349 (note). — The problem can also be called „international tendencies in literature", *as these tendencies will become more and more in the future a movement towards uniformity of language.*

[2] R. N. Cust, A sketch of the modern languages of the East Indies. Acc. by 2 language-maps. London, Trübner 1878. p. 121.

„grosser Mannigfaltigkeit sich gleichbleibende, Einheit all-„gemein menschlichen Geistes und Wesens" [1], and this is a true observation of the great linguist Pott, who has done so much to open new lines of philological science in Europe. Notwithstanding the works of so many eminent scholars, we are for the moment standing only, like the Germans call it, „am Anfang aller Wissenschaft". The classification of languages can only be an essay, „ein Versuch", a modest and imperfect avowal that there must be done something in this direction, to be accomplished by posterity.

This classification of languages (and also of races, we may add) being still very imperfect, and in its infancy, the classification of literature is of course much more imperfect But the co-operation of many scholars, as Posnett already remarked, can do much in the future, and is eagerly wanted. For the moment, new lines of science, new methods, are much more wanted than fresh materials. Buckle already complained that „we want ideas, but we get more facts." This can also be applied to the study of literature, very much neglected not only in the ordinary schools but also in the universities, in most of which there are no chairs for so interesting, so universal a science. We possess a vast mass of materials for the study of literature, diffused in thousands of books and hundreds of periodicals; but we do not possess many ideas, that is to say many universal, methodical and encyclopedical works. In most of the works on the history of literature, which are known to me, the beginning is made with Indian and Hebrew and ancient Greek literature. These literary remains are very old. dating many centuries before the Christian era, *but they are not the oldest monuments.*

In the beautiful Harveian Oration, delivered in 1896 by the learned Dr. Payne, he quotes the words of Goethe:

„In dem Vergangnen lebt das Tüchtige,
„Verewigt sich in schöner That." [2]

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[1] in Techmer's Zeitschrift für Internat. Sprachwissenschaft, vol. 3 (1886), p. 249 sqq.

[2] All that has worth lives in the Past,
Enduring for ever in splendid activity.

and he adds the following observation: „Hence the Past is worth our study, *and ever more so the further we advance.* This is, indeed, a growing sentiment. Even, or rather more especially, in this age of restless innovation and bewildering scientific progress, the study of the past, whether of nature, or of society, in geology, archaeology or history — all embraced under the one head of evolution — is gaining a firmer hold on men's interest, and, inspired by better methods, has acquired wider scope and vision." [1]

This truth has not been observed by the historians of antiquity and of literature, at least by most of them. We have, according to the words of Dr. Payne, (which can easily be applied to literature as well as to medicine) *to advance further in the study of the past* than the Homeric poems, or the tales and myths of the Old Testament, or even the very ancient Vedic literature. They show a period of civilisation of the Aryan and of the Semitic race, before which there lies another immense period, or rather many vast periods, of thousands and thousands of years. As we do not possess literary documents of these ages, except when we reconstruct them by comparative studies, we have to go back necessarily to those other races and tribes in Asia and other continents, which still remain in the very lowest state of intellectual culture. This is wat we can call a new line of science, a new method, or rather the application of the method of natural science, of zoology, botany and the like, to the science of literature. As long as this is not done generally, literature can only be a matter of amusement in the drawing-rooms, but not an object of serious study. If there is something good and fresh in this short essay, I repeat that I owe very much to the example given by Mr. Posnett's excellent work. The merits of it consist not only in its method and clearness of style, although this is already a high quality. The comprehensiveness of the Dublin professor, and the valuable translations of his own, are also an extraordinary ornament. Not only has he a profound knowledge of Aryan literature, prose and poetry

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[1] J. F. Payne, Harvey and Galen. The Harveian Oration, etc. London 1897. 8°. 51 p. — This little treatise is highly interesting, especially for the study of Hellenism.

(nearly all the chief Aryan nations are represented in his work), but he is no stranger to Chinese and Japanese literature, he is intimately acquainted with Hebrew and Arabic, with Semitic literature in general; and as he quotes also the old Peruvian dances and the dances of the savage tribes of North America, we see that he does not neglect this important field of study.

I tried, in the precedent lecture, to add something of my own, and to fix the general attention upon South-African folklore (or rudimental literature), upon the literature of the Ural-Altaic race, of the widely spread Malayo-Polynesian race, and other literary documents, or rather germs of literature, as a great deal of it is still unwritten. As the same causes have the same results, and humankind in its infancy has the same, or nearly the same, conceptions everywhere on earth, comparisons from all the languages of the globe and from all kinds of literature will always be very useful, to explain obscure expressions or doubtful passages in the literature which is familiar to us. I have already mentioned Homer several times, and cited his *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ* (in the milking-time of the night") as explained by a comparison with a similar expression of the Bantu tribes. Here is another example. Every one knows the Homeric expression *ποιμένες λαῶν* „shepherds of the tribes" (or nations). Now Caldwell considers the old Tamil word „kôn" or „kô" to be identical with the „kân", „khân" or „khâgan" of the Turco-Mongolian languages. The Ostiak, an Ugrian dialect, has „khon", and the word signifying *king*, which is found in the Scythic version of the Behistun tablets, and which certainly commences with k or kh, is conjecturally written by Mr. Norris „ko". In the old Tamil inscriptions (he adds) I have invariably found „kô" or „kôn", instead of the Sanscrit „râjâ"; but the word has become obsolete in modern Tamil, except in compounds, and in the honorific title „kôn", which is assumed by shepherds. *This conjunction of meaning (king and shepherd) is very interesting, and reminds one of the Homeric description of kings as „ποιμένες λαῶν"* (shepherds of the tribes, an expression which now receives more light from Tamil).[1]

[1] R. Caldwell, Comparat. grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages. London 1856 (2d edit. 1876). Intro-

Many other proofs of the necessity of comparative literary studies could be given. I will only cite one more example. Only a comparative study can teach us clearly that the method, followed in most of the schools, of reciting Greek (and Latin) prose according to quantity, is entirely wrong, and that even the recitation of ancient poetry, [which has been sung], according to that quantity, is not a good solution of the problem. This is the most interesting part of the problem or „question" of the pronunciation, not only of Greek, but also of Latin. — In my Latin dissertation on the ancient Greek metres and rhythms (published in 1880) I have already shown that the post-classical metrical theory of the ancients, introduced into, and still followed by, all the modern schools and universities, is wrong; and some years ago, in a Dutch essay on the same subject, I have shown equally that the great difference between the old popular poetry, ruled according *accent*, and the merely artificial poetry, into which the musical principle of *quantity* has been introduced, did not only exist in the classical Greek poetry, but also in Sanscrit poetry, in Persian literature, probably also in Arabic verses and in the poetry of other nations. The old-Latin Saturnian verse also agrees with my theory, as it has been purely accentual, not quantitative. Many teachers of classical languages not only neglect these comparative studies, but they are fearfully prejudiced as regards the question of the pronunciation of Greek, they have — according to Berkeley's expression — „first raised a dust, and now complain they cannot see."

This comparative inquiry opens quite a new field of study, and can bear the most interesting fruits, whereas the old-fashioned method of editing texts and correcting obscure or corrupt passages of Greek and Latin (and other) authors,

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duction, p. 68. — Caldwell's dissertation upon the earliest extant written relics of the Drâvidian languages, and his comparisons of old Greek forms, is also very interesting, p. 61 sqq. Those specialists, who never cease (it seems) to publish new editions of texts, with collations of „new" manuscripts, if possible, would do much better to turn to comparative literature, instead of wasting a great deal of their time to what Posnett rightly calls „pedantry devoted to the worship of words."

followed by many scholars, is not only one-sided and subjective, but scarcely opens new lines of science, and does not promote very much true philology. [1]

But let us return to our subject, as the Frenchmen say: „revenons à nos moutons."

We cannot treat fully here these and other interesting questions, because they belong to the special subdivisions of comparative literature, whereas the great lines of our science must be first traced in general. We have to follow the same way which the so-called comparative philology has assumed, we must try if we can fix certain laws. The science of linguistics [the name of „philology", being too general, ought to be given only to comparative studies of languages, together with literature, and treated as one great whole] now-a-days tries to find out certain and fixed *phonetic laws* of the old-Teutonic, of the prehistoric common Aryan tongue, etc. In the same manner we must try to find out certain and fixed *mental laws*, governing the evolution and the progress of literature. *This study will never deserve the real and sublime name of science, if we de not reach finally the discovery of such laws.*

Will it be possible, already in the next time, to discover such laws, or shall we have to confine ourselves between the more or less narrow limits of collecting fresh materials? Both, I think, can be done. For Greek literature, to quote one striking example, we now possess materials from the tenth century before Christ, and upward, till the present time, the medieval texts forming a very good intermediate stage. From such sources many deductions can be made, at least for a sketch of the Greek race, although it seems doubtful whether such a sketch could be traced back to a common Aryan character. [2]

The history of the drama, as regarded from the stand-

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[1] Cp. my: Bijdragen tot de leer der oud-Grieksche verskunst, in the „Hellas" (1896), p. 1—90. It is curious to see that this prejudice and one-sidedness, especially as regards the pronunciation and the accentuation of Greek and Latin, has nearly remained the same since the times of Erasmus, when the struggle between „To Bèh or not To Bèh" (to be or not to be) began. (êtacism-itacism).

[2] A sketch of a comparative treatment of this literature has recently been given by me in my articles on „L'étude scien-

point of the evolution of the Aryan race, is exceedingly interesting, as we have here a rich collection of genuine and original materials, in some very good translations; a comparative study of the Aryan drama will perhaps become in the future a key to establish some laws, which rule the evolution of our common race. We possess many Indian dramas in good translations, and besides this good details of a history of it; we have the ancient Greek drama, and a fine collection of fragments, which ought to be studied more than is done generally; we have the medieval drama and the Spanish one; and, last not least, we have the rich and splendid dramatic literature of the Teutonic and Scandinavian race, to which of course also the English drama belongs. I quite agree with Scherr when he calls Hamlet „the tragedy of the „idea, the masterpiece of Teutonic profoundness, the most „solid tie which binds Germany together with this con„genial poet" („dieses Trauerspiel des Gedankens, das Meisterstück germanischen Tiefsinns, das engste Band welches Deutschland mit dem stammverwandten Dichter verknüpft"). And this dramatic literature of the Northern part of the Aryans does not finish with the name of Shakespeare; from his death (1616) till our present days we can still follow a modern evolution of dramatic literature, from Goethe and Schiller till Björnstjerne Björnson and Ibsen, which shows that the higher form of the drama, the most deep and philosophical, belongs to the cold and cool Northern climate, which seems to strengthen the body, to develop the energy, and to raise the functions of the brain. The great Slavic (Sclavonian) race being still (partly) in its intellectual infancy, no one can say what intellectual powers it will develop in future times; such names as Puschkin, Lermontow, Gógol, Turgénjew, Dostojewsky, Tolstój, and others predict undoubtedly a great literary future, and although it seems for the moment that Celtic vivacity and French „esprit" is more attractive to the Russian mind than deep Teutonic feeling and Scandinavian sublimity, there is according to the best authorities in the enormous Slavic (Sclavonian) race an

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tifique de la litterature comparée", published in the Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement, Paris 1897—1898.

element, which seems to be especially adapted for the lyrical drama.[1]

Putting this question of the Slavs aside, there is a certain evolution in the history of the drama, which perhaps could be reduced to certain laws; even an attempt to find out such rules must lead to a most interesting historical inquiry about the beginning and the development of Aryan civilisation in general. If Benfey, Fick, Schrader and others, by use of linguistic materials, have tried to sketch the primitive nomadic, and partly settled life, the customs and the society of our common ancestors — why could not a similar reconstruction be tried, by means of other literary sources? And if it is true that the Northern and Western divisions of the Aryans take the lead, we might perhaps find some rules, which govern this mental and intellectual superiority. To try to find out these general laws, ruling the progress of literature, is without doubt the highest form of literary criticism.

Literary criticism, applied to poetry in general and particularly to the drama, has been well cultivated by the distinguished writers of England. Take, for instance, the dramatic unities. They stand — it is Macaulay who remarks it — „first in celebrity and in absurdity." No human being has ever been able to find anything that could, even by courtesy, be called an argument for these unities, except that they have been deduced from the general practice of the Greeks [This opinion of Macaulay seems doubtful to me]. It requires no very profound examination to discover that the Greek dramas, often admirable as compositions, are as exhibitions of human character and human life far inferior to the English plays of the

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[1] The learned Prof. Boltz describes the Slavs as follows: „Ihr „ganzes Wesen neigt zu einer überschwänglich bewegten Em„pfindungsweise, die sie jedem äusseren Eindrucke gleichsam „mit offenen Armen entgegenführt; so wie der Slawe, im Gros„sen und Ganzen, seiner äusseren Erscheinung nach, den Ein„druck des Sanguinikers macht, so muss auch seine Poesie das „Gepräge seines National-charakters tragen; der ist weich, leicht „bewegt, schwankend, bald das eine mit zitternder Gier ergrei„fend, bald es für das andere, lockendere, als abgenutztes „Spielzeug, fallen lassend. So die slawische Lyrik", etc. etc.
Beiträge zur Völkerkunde aus Wort und Lied. Oppenheim am Rhein 1868. 8°. p. 129

Elizabethan era. All the greatest masterpieces of dramatic art have been composed in direct violation of the unities, and could never have been composed if the unities had not been violated. It is clear, for example, that such a character as that of Hamlet could never have been developed within the limits to which Alfieri confined himself. [1]

This comparison between the so-called unities of the ancient classical drama and the free conception of modern drama, as it appears in the masterpieces of Shakespeare, is only one of the peculiarities, which mark the historical evolution of the drama as a creation of the Aryan race. The modern philosophical drama is a second peculiarity. We can study three specimens of it, as afforded by German, by Dutch, and by Norwegian literature, I mean the Faust of Goethe, the Vorstenschool („School of Princes") of Multatuli (Douwes Dekker), in Holland, and the drama „Brand" (and perhaps also the „Peer Gynt") of Henrik Ibsen, in Norway.

These three masterpieces of literary art are not uniform, of course. Goethe was an infant of his time, born in an aristocratic circle in Germany (1749—1832), and Henrik Ibsen, the great Norwegian poet, was born in 1828, only a few years before the death of the great Johann Wolfgang. The Dutch poet Eduard Douwes Dekker, who took the „nom de plume" of Multatuli, was born in 1820, and died in 1887. Each of them wrote in his own national language, and neither Norwegian nor Dutch is a world-language, But each of them, being partly a production of his time, was a great prophet, stood outside the limits of his time, and belongs not to his nation only, but to humanity. Multatuli's misfortune was to have written only in Dutch, a language not well known except in Holland, the northern part of Belgium, and the Dutch colonies (and partly, in South Africa). Ibsen's works have been translated into several languages, the drama of Douwes Dekker, which has unquestionable international merits, has only once been translated. With regard to the Faust of Goethe, German is already a world-language and, moreover

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[1] Lord Macaulay, Critical and historical essays, contributed to the Edinburgh Review. Author. edition. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1874. 8°. p. 154.

there exist some very good translations of it, even in the very exclusive French language.

Notwithstanding all the differences, which we can notice, the three mentioned poets can be compared as having produced each an international and philosophical masterpiece, dealing with the great problems of humanity.[1] Their work is not national, but really international, and this is the real and greatest merit of their literary activity.

Perhaps I am wrong in assigning, in a comparative sense of course, the same or nearly the same value to the „Brand" of Ibsen[2] as to the Faust of Goethe. When I first read it (in the German translation of Von Siebold, who was the first to introduce it into Germany), I had the impression of an attempt to solve the great problem of humanity, of individualism amidst the social world, to which problem the Prometheus of Aeschylos and Shelley's Prometheus Unbound are also partly devoted. With regard to the „School of Princes" of the Dutch poet, it puts before the eyes of the spectator and the reader the great struggle between riches and poverty, between the people

„le peuple, c'est la fille de taverne,
la fille buvant du vin bleu,
que veut dans son amant
un bras qui la gouverne,
un corps de fer, un oeil de feu,"

as Barbier calls it (in his „Iambes"), the great and uncultivated and humiliated masses on one side, and the gover-

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[1] Nothing can be more incorrect than to say with the German critic Düntzer: „In any case the Faust will always remain the „most German creation of the most German of all our poets" [jedenfalls wird der Faust stets die deutscheste Schöpfung des deutschesten aller unserer Dichter bleiben"], on the contrary, in future times the Faust will become more and more the most international creation of one of the most international of all the German poets. — Cp. Scherr, Gesch. d. Literatur II 255.

[2] „Ich habe mich bei Ibsen's Dramen länger aufgehalten, als ich gesollt hätte. Aber immer allgemeiner wird die Ansicht, dass wir in diesem nordischen Skalden einen der grössten Weltdichter vor uns haben, dessen Wirken und Schaffen dem Geistesleben neue Bahnen bricht, dessen Einfluss sich allmählig über die ganze Menschheit erstrecken wird."
(Ph. Schweitzer, Geschichte der Skand. Litteratur im 19 Jahrh. Leipzig, s. a. S. 318. Geschichte der Weltliteratur Bd. VIII).

nors, the rulers, the princes of the world, on the other. It reminds those princes of their duties, it describes all the origins of poverty and ignorance, it is a grand philosophical and political poem.[1] But the Faust of Goethe is still more so; the great and immense struggle between materialism and idealism is contained in this wonderful composition, admired by Shelley at its first appearance, and now already admired and studied by the whole civilized world. Nothing can be more sublime and perfect than the drama, that is: society brought to the highest artistic form, as a solution of the great problem, to which humanity is slowly and gradually approaching.

Now we ask: what can the history of the drama teach us? Let me try to answer this question, although I am aware that my knowledge is far too limited and too modest to accomplish what — according to M[r] Posnett — can only be done by a literary Hercules. To chronicle (he says) the rise of new forms, new spirits, of verse and prose in each European nation, and the gradual separation of science from literature; to trace such growth to its roots in social and physical causes; finally, to compare and contrast these causes as producing the diverse literatures of England and France and Germany, of Italy and Spain and Russia; this truly, were the task of a literary Hercules.[2] But, on the other hand, I can say „Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas", and by trying to find a way, even a wrong one, I can show others how to find the right one, according to the words of Paul Louis Courier: „Publiez votre pensée, ce n'est pas un droit, c'est un devoir; si votre pensée est bonne, on en profite, mauvaise, on la corrige, et l'on profite encore."

I consider the modern philosophical drama for the moment as the highest literary evolution of the Aryan race, not the modern „Musikdrama" (Wagner), because this is

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[1] Cp. this splendid passage of Multatuli: „Het Volk is laag „gezonken, moeder, ziel en hart gaan onder, bij aanhoudend „stoflijk lijden..... Als niet te sterven 's levens eenig doel „is, en uitgesteld bezwijken hoogste prijs!" There is probably no passage in an ancient or a modern author, in which the social condition of the people is described more beautifully and more pathetically. („Vorstenschool", Act. I.)

[1] Compar. Literature, p. 346.

not philosophical enough, but perhaps a mingled form of both, a „compromise" of literature and the arts, as we can call it, the development of which belongs to the future. [1] Now, to show in a scientific manner the different periods of evolution, through which the drama had to pass before it reached the height of to-day, we have to proceed from the known to the (more or less) unknown, we have to retrace our steps. The same method is to be followed in the study of languages (as I tried to show for Greek grammar some years ago). The basis, or rather the starting-post, ought to be the study and knowledge of modern literature and modern drama. This involves a great and important reform in the general study of literature and languages, and in classical study. Modern English ought to be the beginning, not old English. Modern Greek, not ancient Greek, etc. etc.

Taking this century as a whole — a hundred years is but a „span" in the movement of ages, „een spanne tijds" as Dutchmen call it — we can say that the modern philosophical drama, and dramatic novel we could add to it, is a creation of the Western group of the Aryan nations. We have quoted as an example the works of Goethe, Multatuli, and Ibsen, and as another specimen of the highest cosmopolitan tendencies we could cite perhaps some of the better works of the Russian Count Tolstój, showing that also the Eastern Slavic (Slavonian) group is beginning to develop the same literary qualities.

The modern drama, as different from the ancient classical one, and possessing Shakspeare as one of its best incarnations, can be considered as the second degree or period.

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[1] I do not agree with Professor Sayce, when he remarks: „Just as the type of physical beauty differs among the various races of the earth, so too does the type of literary excellence. The Chinaman finds more to admire in the language and style of his classics than in those of Plato and Shakspeare, and Montezuma would probably have preferred an Aztek poem to all the works of Aeschylus or Goethe. If we are to decide between the rival claims of different forms of speech to pre-eminence, it must be upon other grounds than the excellency of the literature belonging to them; and we have already seen in a previous chapter how seriously it may be doubted whether, after all, an inflectional language stands on a higher level than an agglutinative one" (?). — The science of language, vol. 2, p. 68. — The intimate coherence of language and literature is quite neglected in this sentence.

Cosmopolitan tendencies are scarce; general human tendencies become already strongly expressed; and there is a strong development of national force and feeling. — This period belongs also to the Western groups (taken as a great whole, and including Spain).

The third period — that which we are accustomed to call the first one, according to the old system of writing the history of literature — belongs rather to the Eastern groups of the Aryan race. It includes the Indian and the Greek drama, with the Latin tragedy and comedy as dependent from it. The chronology of the classical drama seems to be better fixed than the period to which the Indian belongs. [1] About the Indian drama the German critic Scherr remarks that the Hindûs could not raise themselves to the idea of the general value of human existence, which remains triumphant even in and after his ruin. („Ein tragischer Ausgang ist nicht gestattet, denn zu dem Begriffe der auch im Untergang noch triumphirenden Menschenwürde, wie ihn die griechische Tragödie aufstellte, konnten sich die Inder nicht erheben, und ihre Stücke enden darum, nachdem sieben, acht, neun und mehr Akte hindurch geliebt, gelitten, geränkelt, gelacht und geklagt worden, mit heller Heiterkeit"). — However this may be, it seems certain that the drama, created by the Eastern group of the Aryan race, to which undoubtedly also the Greeks belong, represents a much more narrow circle of ideas than the modern drama of the Western groups, but of course they contain the germs, from which the cosmopolitan and international ideas of our most modern drama have been developed. So, for instance, when Sophocles' Antigone says: „I was born not to hate, but to love", *οὔτοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν*, (vs. 523), in the German

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[1] See, for instance, „Het Leemen Wagentje", Indisch tooneelspel uit Sanskrt en Prākrt in het Nederlandsch vertaald, door J. Ph. Vogel. Amsterdam, 1897. Inleiding: Wat den tijd van vervaardiging aangaat, deze is volkomen onzeker; werd vroeger aan de Mrcchakatikâ een betrekkelijk hooge ouderdom toegekend, de gronden hiervoor aangevoerd zijn onvoldoende, zooals door Pischel werd aangetoond, die haar op zijn vroegst in 't einde der 5e eeuw n. Chr. wil plaatsen," etc. (p. X). For the passage of Scherr, partly translated by me, cp. his Gesch. d. Literatur, vol.. 1, p. 45.

translation: „Nicht mitzuhassen, mitzulieben bin ich da".[1] So also in the well-known „Homo sum" of Terence, used by George Ebers as a title of his charming novel. And indeed, many other similar passages could be quoted.

After this, we come to ask if the dramatical history of our Aryan race, in its Eastern and Western groups according to this reconstruction, can teach us anything, with regard to those primitive times when our common ancestors were not yet divided into so many different tribes and groups.

Linguists like Benfey, Fick, Sayce and others teach us that like the language, the civilisation of the community of those common ancestors was highly advanced. Man was *manus* „the thinker", and the society in which he lived was strictly monogamous. The family-relations, indeed, were defined with the severest precision, and there were separate words for a wife's sister (*syâlî*), and the wife of a brother (*jatar*, εἰνάτερες, *janitrices*). The father, at the head of the family, exercised the same *patria potestas* as we find existing at a later date among the Romans; he was the *patis*, πόσις or „lord" of the household, just as the wife was the *patnî*, ποτνία, or „mistress." The community itself was but a large family, governed on the same principle as the family, by the *vi'spati*, or „head of the clan." The *vi'spati*, again, seems to have been under the *râjan* or „king", who was assisted by a body of councillors consisting of the *pataras* or „fathers" of families. The community, however, resembled the Slavonic *mir*, or the village communities of India, whose constitution has been explained to us by Sir Henry Maine. [2]

Such a reconstruction of primitive Aryan speech, as given

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[1] In my metrical Dutch translation of the Antigone, which yet remained a MS., I have not quite been able to translate this beautiful line as literally as J. J. C. Donner has done in his beautiful German version.

[2] Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 127—128. I leave the linguistic examples, given by Fick, and after him by Sayce, for what they are. There certainly are some inaccuracies in them, apart from the fact that the Sanskrit form does not represent at all the primitive form of Aryan speech. But still, in the sketch as a whole, there must be a great deal of truth and exactness.

here, remains always very imperfect and doubtful; but still more imperfect and doubtful must be our knowledge of the mental capacity of our common ancestors. All we can say is that the *germs* even of the highest development of dramatic literature in modern times — which seems to belong to the Aryans and not to the Semites — probably existed already in those rude communities of our forefathers, whether they dwelled in some part of Scandinavia (as some have suggested), or in the southern part of Russia, or elsewhere.

But what is very interesting is that our inquiries about the primitive Aryan character, as shown in its literary evolution, seem to lead us to similar conclusions as are given by so great an authority as the late Professor Rudolph Ihering, in his already mentioned work, an opus postumum.[1] As the social spirit is superior to the purely individual spirit, so dramatic art is superior to purely lyrical art; perhaps we can reduce all to the real antithesis between individualism and altruism or socialism, not taken in the mainly economical but in the general sense of the word. Only individualism and altruism, working together, can produce dramatic art; the true dramatic poet has to leave his own personal individuality, and to give plastic form and strength to the figures of others. This principle of leaving yourself and embodying yourself, so to say, with others, is called in moral science: *altruism*, *unselfishness;* in literary science, in literature, it leads to *dramatic art.* Individualism can be called, in this same general sense, the spirit of liberty, whereas altruism means the spirit of love, in the higher sense of the word, the self-denying and self-sacrificing love, not the sensual desire, the „éros", but rather the „agápe", as described so beautifully in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians. In the primitive civilisation of our common ancestors, as derived from linguistic evidence, we may already trace the spirit of individualism (liberty, freedom), together with the spirit of love (community). Does not the strictly monogamous[2] prin-

[1] I repeat the title: The evolution of the Aryan. Translated from the German by A. Drucker. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1897. 8°.

[2] This question is exceedingly interesting for the future evolution of society. If there is a strong polygamic (or rather po-

ciple imply a higher conception of personality, of personal freedom, of individualism amongst the Aryans? And does not the village community more or less imply a principle of working together, of mutual love? In other words, cannot we find a certain spirit of freedom, together with a principle of mutual love, in this theoretical sketch — it is true — of the society of our ancestors, but which shows itself more clearly in the primitive unity of a speech, now divided into hundreds of dialects?

Now, what does the great jurist von Ihering, in his aforesaid work, teach us? Monotheism (he says), so far from forming the heritage of the Semitic race, was fully revealed amongst the Aryans in the doctrine of Christ. With the Semites, the conception of the deity never broke through the bonds with which their national character had held them bound, not even with the Hebrews; *Jehovah existed only for his people* [I underline], the ultimate motive to which their whole conception of the godhead can be traced is national egotism: God for us, but not for others. That the same God who is for us is also for others — in short the idea of universality or community in the domain of religion, in contrast to national character or exclusiveness — this idea, without which monotheism is but an empty name, was first realized by the Aryans; and that this was so has its ultimate proof, not in their superior intellectual endowments — for in this respect they were in no wise superior to the Semites — but in their higher moral elevation, *in idealism, which forms the leading trait in their character.* [1]

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lygyn) element in the masculine sex, as some try to prove, perhaps a higher form can be found in the future than the monogamous marriage of to-day, to be combined with the greatest possible emancipation of women. But to me this seems very doubtful. — cf. Prof. R. T. Ely in Harper's M. Magazine, April 1903, p. 676.

[1] The evolution of the Aryan, p. 242. It remains a question whether von Ihering is right in assigning such a moral inferiority to the Semites. — Very remarkable are also the words of v. Ihering about the „spirit of intolerance", according to him „a growth, not out of the New, but out of the Old Testament, „grafted upon the Aryans by the Jews It was the worst gift „that they bestowed upon the Aryans, it was the robe of Nes„sus, which has poisoned their blood," etc. etc. (p. 245) A comparison between the Aryan and the Semitic race is also very interesting from a linguistic point of view, as for instance

To return to our subject, the literary capacity of the Aryan race, we might say that the history of dramatic literature of that race, as being the highest form of literary conception, seems to bring us to a conclusion similar to that of the German scholar. Liberty, in literary art, combined with a spirit of unselfishness, idealism as the German professor calls it, these are the two great elements of the post-classical and the modern philosophical drama, and if it is true that they denote a superiority of the Aryan, with regard to the Semitic race, we arrive also at the same conclusion as is found in the work of Mr. Posnett, in whose eyes literature is a very serious thing. „Whether men like it or not — we repeat with „him — their literary efforts at ideal beauty in prose or „verse must involve ideals of human conduct" (p. 391). If it is really true that our race takes the lead in the world, what moral duties have we to fulfil? How can we work, each in his narrow circle and with his limited powers, at the great task of the improvement of that race? And above all, as a subject of these modest lectures, what part is the science of literature to take?

The science of literature ought to be introduced into all the universities, as one of the most important factors of higher education, and especially into all the colleges for women, as the future improvement of the study of languages and literature, of literary studies in general — this is my firm conviction — belongs for a great deal to the female sex. The science of literature, in which the deductive method is so important, in which imagination is the impulsive force, cannot be well cultivated without the collaboration of the two sexes, and especially of the

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the fact that Semitic languages do not know composition of words. Does this fact also imply an inferior manner of thinking? [cp. my Beiträge zur Lehre der Wortzusammensetzung, etc. Leiden 1896, p. 43.] Justi, Ueber die Zusammensetzung der nomina in den indogerm. sprachen, Göttingen 1861, p. 1: „Sofort treten die Sprachen beider Stämme (Indog. and Semites) „auseinander, wenn es sich um Wortzusammensetzung handelt, „*welche nur der indogermanische Stamm ausgebildet hat.*" This linguistic fact can it be combined with an egotistical character of the Semites in general, as also shown in their literature? Cp. Justi, ibidem p. 134. But the whole question remains still unsettled.

female sex, the emancipation of which seems to be only commencing.

This reform ought also to be introduced as soon as possible, as comparative literature and all the similar comparative studies are most fitted to counterbalance that narrow and bigoted spirit which most of the universities are in danger of acquiring, as soon as they become mere conglomerations of „specialists", the great danger of our century. A universal spirit ought to prevail in the universities, and in the field of literary sciences this is especially required, as the study of the mere form of words in many cases degenerates into the spiritless pedantry, the ridiculous narrowness, which still remains the same after the „Dignus, dignus es intrare" of Molière and so many other satirical writers. Without ideals and idealism, without the worship of the beautiful, all the nobler elements of society will be soon swept away by a rough and rude materialism, to which the majority readily incline. So we must always bear in mind the words of the French poet:

„Gardez donc l' idéal, o peuples d' aujourd' hui!"
„C'est votre sève à vous, vous vieillissez sans lui."

## FIRST GENERAL NOTE TO THE FIFTH LECTURE.

### On race and language.

The best marked race-characters are: colour of the skin, structure and arrangement of hair, stature and proportions, shape of skull, features, constitution and character.

A similar difficulty has hitherto stood in the way of any definite classification of the emotional, moral and intellectual characters of races. Some of the most confident judgments which have been delivered on this subject have been dictated by prejudice or wilful slander, as in the many lamentable cases in which slave-holders and conquerors have excused their ill treatment of subject and conquered races on the ground of their being creatures of bestial nature in mind and morals. Two of the best-marked contrasts of mental type recorded among races are Mr. A. R. Wallace's distinction between the shy, reserved and impassive Malay, and the sociable aud demonstrative Papuan (Tr. Ethn. Soc. vol. 3, p. 200), and the very same difference pointed out by Spix and Martius between the dull and morose natives of the Brazilian forests, and the lively, sensuous Africa negroes, brought into contact with him (Reise in Brasilien, vol. 1). In general however, descriptions of national or racial character are so vitiated by the confusion of peculiarity of national character with stage of civilisation, that they can only be made use of with the greatest reserve."

Huxley, in Journ. Ethn. Soc. II 404 (1870), distinguishes 1. Australioid, 2. Negroid, 3. Mongoloid, 4. Xanthochroic, and 5. Melanochroic.

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Mixture of races. — On the whole, the general evidence favours the opinion that any two races may combine to produce a new sub-race, which again may combine with many other varieties. cf Waitz, Anthropology 1, 1, 3. Darwin, Descent of Man, I, 7. Prichard, Nat. Hist. of Man, 5. On the other hand: Broca, Phenomena of hybridity in the Genus Homo, 1864. — Among the boldest attempts to account for distinctly-marked populations as resulting from the intermixture of two races, are Prof. Huxley's view that the Hottentots are hybrid between the Bushmen and the Negroes, and his more important suggestion that the Melanochroic peoples of S. Europe are of mixed Xanthochroic and Australioid stock.

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Language and Race. — The mixture of the Israelites in Europe by marriage with other nations is probably much greater than is acknowledged by them; yet on the whole, the race has been preserved with extraordinary strictness, as its physical characteristics sufficiently show. Language thus here fails conspicuously as a test of race, and even of national history.

Judging by the extirpation and adoption of languages within the range of history, it is obvious that to classify mankind into races, Aryan, Semitic, Turanian, Polynesian, Kafir, *on the mere evidence of language, is an intrinsically unsound method.* From the earliest times in which nations have been classified by languages, its unrestricted use has vitiated sound ethnology.

But language 1) strengthens the evidence of bodily characters (cf. Zulu and Negro-type, Hottentot and Bushmen), and 2) language may prove race-connection, where bodily characteristics, though they do not contradict, do not suffice (cf. the dark Andalusian and the fair Swede, the ancestors of both spoke a common Aryan language!)

[*E. B. T(ylor)*, in the Encycl. Brit. 1875.]

Since the days of *Kant* (Bestimmung des Begriffs einer Menschenrace, 1785, Sämmtliche Werke, herausg. von Rosenkranz und Schubert, Leipz. 1839, S. 346), who tried to give a definition of „race", till the days of *Buckle*, who considered „race" not a primary cause, but a consequence of climate, food, soil, and the general aspect of nature (Hist. of Civil. 1865, Huth, Life of Buckle 1880, I 174), the problem of race has often occupied the great thinkers, and a mass of valuable material has been collected, but still the problem is far from being solved, and there occurs often the greatest diversity among the ethnologists and biologists. It is not only Tylor who expresses himself so doubtfully on various points, as cited above (1875), but many other authorities can be cited. I have carefully studied the works of most of them, since 1875, but my result is that: ethnologi certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est. The reader might compare, chronologically, the following works: A. Bastian, Das Beständige in den Menschenrassen, Berlin 1868, S. 29; Darwin, on races 1872; E. Reclus in the Encycl. Brit. 1878, p. 621; von Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatrie, Stuttgart 1879, I 8; A. Rauber, Urgeschichte des Menschen, Leipz. 1884, II 201; A. de Candolle, Histoire des sciences, Genève 1885, p. 527; R. Andree, Ethnograph. Parallelen und Vergleiche. N. F. Leipz. 1889, S. 261 ff.; Th. Ribot, L'hérédité psychologique. Paris 1890, p. 301; Tylor, Anthropology, Lond. 1892, p. 153; E. Haeckel, Ueber unsere gegenwärtige Kenntniss vom Ursprung des Menschen, Bonn 1898, S. 48, etc. — A. Nystrom says: „Je mehr die verschiedenen Rassen studirt werden, desto mehr findet man, dass die allermeisten Mischrassen sind," etc. Archiv für Anthropologie, Braunschweig 1901, S. 212, and in the same manner Steinmetz says: „Mann soll die Sprache als Kriterium der zoologischen Einteilung der Menschheit ganz fallen lassen", Vierteljahresschr. f. wiss. Philos. und Sociologie, Leipz. 1902, S. 79.

## SECOND GENERAL NOTE TO THE FIFTH LECTURE.

### On race and literature.

Neben die trotz aller Wechsel bleibende Macht der Natur bestimmt die Völker noch ein anderes beharrliches: ihre *Race*, und die aus ihr hervorgegange besondre Nationalität. In ihr sehen Buckle und Taine einen der physischen Hauptfactoren der Geistesgeschichte: der letztere entwickelt sehr scharfsinnig die Individualität z. B. Lafontaine's zum Theil aus der gallischen Race, und in der Geschichte der engl. Literatur spürt er genau den entsprechenden verschiedenen Grundlagen des engl. Volkes nach; ja, so weit wagt sich die geschichtliche Forschung (z. B. bei Draper) schon hinaus, dass sie die Völker als ganz geschlossene Individuen von einer bestimmten nothwendig begränzenden Gesetzen unterworfenen Lebensdauer erkennen und setzen wil. Bei solcher Bestimmtheit der Race und Individualität hat die Cultur- und Litteraturgeschichte entschieden Rücksicht auf sie zu nehmen. Schon 1864 hatte ein ausgezeichneter Linguist, Lorenz Diefenbach, einen sehr geschickten Ueberblick der allgemeinen Bildungsgeschichte im engsten Anschluss an die Völkerkunde gegeben (Vorschule der Völkerkunde, etc.). Mitt grösserer Specialisierung sucht der Russe Weschniakoff die Individualität sowohl auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiet (z. B. Haller u. Alex. v. Humboldt), als auch auf künstlerischem (z. B. Leopold Robert), psychologisch mit dem anthropologischen Typus zu vermitteln (Recherche sur les conditions anthropologiques de la production scientifique et esthétique, St.

Pétersb. 1865). Englische und anglo-amerikanische Beobachtungen von Buckle, Farrar und Draper sind hier besonders beachtenswerth (Race in history, Anthropol. Review, 1865, Augsb. Allgem. Zeit. 1867, No. 271—272), auf das ganze Gebiet des Geistes beziehen sich Vanderkindere's Betrachtungen (De la race, et de sa part d'influence, etc. Bruxelles, Claassen 1868), und im Besonderen auf die Kunst die Schrift des Herzogs de Valmy, Le génie des peuples dans les arts, Paris, Plon 1867.

[*Gosche*, Archiv f. Litteraturgeschichte, 1865—'69. Bd. I. S. 514 sqq.]

Since this has been written by Gosche, the problem of „race and literature", which I have put before the reader, has not been settled more satisfactorily than the problem of „race and language", or rather to say of the problem of race and races itself, *the corner-stone of ethnology*, a science which is still in its infancy. On the racial comparison of the Aryans and the Semites (a very doubtful name, which ought to be abandoned), the reader should compare the following more or less contradictory passages: E. Schrader, Die Höllenfahrt der Istar. Giessen 1874, S. 58 ff.; M. Alsberg, Rassenmischung im Judenthum. Hamburg, 1891, S. 4; A. Vierkandt, Naturvölker und Kulturvölker, Leipzig 1896, S. 311; and he will perhaps arrive at a similar conclusion, as has been put forth by a learned Dutchman: „So dürfte von verschiedener Kulturfähigkeit und Veranlagung der Rassen gar nicht(?) die Rede sein," u. s. w., S. R. Steinmetz, Ethnolog. Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe, Leiden 1894, Bd. I, S. XL.

For the moment, we can retain the division of mankind according to the races, faulty as it may be and as it has been given by us, until we shall be able to give a better, a really scientific and satisfactory division.

SEVENTH LECTURE.

## Beginning of comparison of the literature of one race with the literature of another. — Aryans-Semites.

I shall begin with a special comparison of Aryan with Semitic literature, as we have plenty of materials for such a work, and as Aryan literature is undoubtedly the most important amongst all the literary productions of mankind. We can even say that Aryan literature itself is as important as the literature of *all* the other races, taken together. But as our subject is such an extensive one, I prefer to take first two well-known races, leaving the other aside, and shall endeavour to make our sketch as clear and distinct as possible. [1]

Before comparing, let us try to make a separate sketch of these two races, from a literary point of view; such a sketch has to deal also, of course, with the general character of the race. We will consider first the Semitic; and as specimens of the literature of this race, we must mention Hebrew and Arabic literature, these two branches being the most important.

The primitive and fundamental trait and tone of Hebrew poetry and prose, as it appears in the Old Testa-

[1] *Grau*, Semiten und Indogermanen, eine Apologie des Christenthums, 2e Aufl. Stuttgart 1867, and other similar works treat this subject from a much too narrow point of view.

ment, is the belief in Jahve (Jehovah), and from a literary standpoint we can add that it is essentially lyrical and didactic. According to some authorities, there may be found germs of epic and dramatic literature; the old heroic songs (Deborah, and the story of Samson) are quoted, besides these the book of Hiob and Solomon's Song. But these germs did never attain any real development. Solomon's Song is very much admired by various literary critics, but I must freely say that I find in this poem rather an inferior, than a superior conception of love. Take for instance the well-known passage: „Love is strong as death, Jealousy is „cruel as the grave, The coals thereof are coals of fire, „Which has a most vehement flame, Many waters cannot „quench love, Neither can the floods drown it, If a man „would give all the substance of his house for love, it „would utterly be contemned" (VIII 6—7), and I must say that a great part of the beauty of this description of passionate love, and nothing but sensual love, is spoiled by the end, which compares that love with private property. How much higher is the love-conception of the Aryan, for instance in Schiller's well-known lines: „Passion flies, but love will remain" (Die Leidenschaft flieht, die Liebe muss bleiben), in which even the difference of words, Leidenschaft and Liebe, show the enormous difference of conception.[1] The conception of love in general, and the position of women, is one of the most striking characteristics for a comparison between Semites and Aryans, and their culture and literature. In the Koran (Qurân) also there is a lower conception of women: „The honest „women are obedient, careful in the absence of their hus-„bands, for that God preserveth them, by committing „them to the care and protection of the men. But those, „whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke, „and remove them into separate apartments, and chastise „them. But if they shall be obedient unto you, seek not „an occasion of quarrel against them; for God is high and „great".[2] These and other passages are very characteristic as productions of Semitic mind.

[1] Scherr speaks of „die vollendetste Hervorbringung der rein-weltlichen Lyrik" (I 63). Doorenbos calls the song „heerlijk", which is the highest praise in Dutch language, (I 22).

[2] The Koran, transl. by George Sale. London, New-York,

But let us not digress, and produce still more proofs, from which a conclusion may be drawn about the general character of the Semitic race in general, and especially as it appears in Semitic literature. We ought to do this in an objective manner, without any anger and exaggeration, „sine ira et studio", according to the beautiful maxim of the ancient historian, we ought to judge from facts and from facts only, taking a high standpoint which lifts us far beyond the prejudices of humanity. But on the other hand, we must never be blind to the lessons, which history and facts can teach us.

Many thousands of years before Christ mankind was already divided into well-marked races, distinguished by colour and features. It is surprising to notice how these old-world types of man are still to be recognised. The ancient Assyrian portraits of the tribute-bearers of Jehu, King of Israel, show the strongly-marked Israelitic type of features, to be seen at this day in every city of Europe. We recognise in the figures of Phoenician or Israelitic captives the familiar Jewish profile of our own day. And this permanence of type may more or less remain when the race migrates far from its early home, as when Israelites naturalize themselves from Archangel to Singapore. — If these remarks of the great ethnologist Tylor are just, we wonder if they can be applied also to the mental and literary character? [1]

First of all, the Semitic character seems to denote *exclusiveness*. Hebrew monotheism deserves this name only in a very restricted sense. It is the faith in the racial God of the people of Israel: Jehovah. The immeasurable progress made by Christ is thus evident. The God whom he preaches is the God of the whole world, not of a

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Chapter IV, p. 58. In the note is added „That is, banish them from your bed", and: „By this passage the Mohammedans are „in plain terms allowed to beat their wives, in case of stub„born disobedience; but not in a violent or dangerous manner" (!) Nothing denotes better the conception and the state of civilisation and morality than the „question of women."

[1] E. B. Tylor, Anthropology, an introduction to the study of man and civilisation. With illustr. London, New-York 1892. p. 4, 69, 80. It is to be regretted that we have not yet fixed statistics (observations) about the crossing of races, f. i. the crossing of the Semitic and the Aryan race.

specific nation. His disciples were to preach him to „all nations". The advance achieved by Christ can no longer be credited to Judaism. The Semite has never got beyond the idea of the *national exclusiveness* of the deity, neither has the Jew. Christianity denotes a victory over Judaism, from the very commencement there is a touch of the Aryan in him. The belief in one God is purely intellectual, it is compatible, like every purely theoretically recognized truth, with hardness of heart; but the belief in the God of Love, if not merely acknowledged with the lips, but living in the heart, excludes this. The God of Love means self-abnegation as the principle of the moral order of the world. The idea of universality or community in the domain of religion was first realized by the Aryans, and that this was so has its ultimate proof, not in their superior intellectual endowments — for in this respect they were in no wise superior to the Semites — but in their higher moral elevation, in idealism, which forms the leading trait in their character. [1]

Exclusiveness is often the same as intolerance, it leads to it. The same eminent German writer remarks that it was Christianity, that first introduced the spirit of religious intolerance to the Aryans. „While still persecuted itself, as soon as it came into power it called upon the government to administer the same punishments to heretics and schismatics, that were formerly inflicted upon the Christians. This was a growth not out of the New, but out of the Old Testament, grafted upon the Aryans by the Jews. It was the worst gift that they bestowed upon the Aryans; it was the robe of Nessus, which has poisoned their blood. But the Jews themselves have suffered bitterly for it. In the persecution during the Middle Ages, and in the anti-Semitic movement of to-day, the spirit of intolerance has risen against its author — „the injustice „that thou inflictest upon others shall be visited upon

[1] R. v. Ihering, The evolution of the Aryan. Transl. from the German by A. Drucker, London 1897, p. 240—243 (cf. supra). Compare also the character of another subdivision of the Semitic race, the Phoenicians, as shown in the well-known „Punica fides" of the Romans. (The Jews were much despised by the Romans, cf. Horace's „Credat Judaeus Apella", etc.). But the Romans were partial and one-sided.

„thyself." It is the lex talionis in the life of nations."[1] That intolerance is innate in the Semite, tolerance in the Aryan, is not true — the same writer remarks. As long as they adhered to Polytheism they were tolerant, not till they became monotheistic did intolerance enter into their character. Its first occurrence is in the history of the Hebrews, who were inculcated with it by Moses; he was the first to introduce religious intolerance into the world. From the Hebrews the spirit of intolerance has, with Monotheism, passed over to the Arabs and all other adherents of Islamism; religion has called fire and sword to her assistance. — But it seems very doubtful to me, whether von Ihering's conclusions are right. Religion is only one of the mental attainments of a race, and there are many other traits which make us ask whether some exclusiveness and selfishness (in religion as in other things) is not somewhat inherent to the Semitic character. And if these same traits appear amongst the Arabs as well as amongst the Jews, our conclusion will become still firmer.

That nearly the whole literature of the Israelites became gradually subordinated to the priests, the clergymen, the theologians, shows rather inferiority than superiority, a practical and prosaic character, a sense of ritualism which is opposed to idealism, and which does not allow the free development of mental faculties and moral conceptions.[2] The Israelites did not create an epos, nor a drama, although there seems to exist some ancient Babylonian epic poetry, which might be ascribed to the Semitic race. We have already observed, in a former lecture, that the character of their literature is essentially *lyrical*, and lyric poetry is of course always more or less individual, personal, and selfish and egotistic, as soon as it has not a broad and large moral background. The song or „sjîr" and the parable or sentence, the „mâsjâl", are productions of the Hebrew mind; they denote passion and subtleness, but both these qualities have their good and

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[1] v. Ihering, l. c. p. 245.

[2] Cp. Doorenbos I 20: „hunne letterkunde werd onderworpen aan de godsdienstige begrippen der godgeleerden, die eene dikwijls zeer eenzijdige levensopvatting bezaten." And cp. my Greek art. *Νεοελληνικὴ γλῶσσα καὶ φιλολογία*, in the Oxford Times, Febr. 1898.

their evil side, as passion soon becomes the spirit of revenge, and sensuality, a lower morality in general, and subtleness leads to slyness, deception and imposture.[1] The Israelites had no deep sentiment, nor great talent for art, except perhaps music, in so far as music excites passion; the higher unity of beautiful idea with beautiful form, this highest conception of poetry and literary art, did not exist for them, and as the greatest authorities in Arabian literature (for instance the great Dutch orientalist Dozy) have found the Arabs lacking in these same qualities, it seems almost certain that this practical and unpoetical character must be ascribed to the Semitic race in general.

Many further examples of the passionate character of the Jews, and the Semites in general, of their spirit of revenge — which is so clearly obvious amongst the Arabs — and of their want of the highest poetical and especially of dramatic genius, could be given, from antiquity down to the Middle Ages, when (to quote one example) in the year 1509 one Pfeffercorn, a converted Jew, induced the inquisition at Cologne to obtain an order from the emperor to burn all Hebrew books except the Bible, upon the pretext of their being full of blasphemies against the Christian religion,[2] till the present time, when there have been at least two Jews in Germany, Börne and Heine, who are justly admired by a great number of people as literary geniuses, although some writers (like Dühring for instance)

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[1] „Zoowel de Israëlieten als later, van den Semitischen stam, de Arabieren, bezitten boven andere volkeren, eene hevige hartstochtelijkheid en tevens een scherpte en fijnheid van oordeel, welke zoowel in hun leven als in hunne letterkunde schitterend te voorschijn treedt" — remarks Doorenbos, I 21, and further on: „De Israëlieten bezaten geen of weinig gevoel en gave voor kunst, of het moest voor de muziek zijn, in zooverre de hartstocht door de toonen er van opgewekt en gedragen wordt. In de Hebreeuwsche letterkunde bestaat dus eene eenvormigheid, ja zelfs zekere stijfheid, die haar, ook wat de gedachte betreft, slechts de uitdrukking van een deel van het veelzijdige menschelijk leven doet zijn, maar die dat dan ook zoo krachtig, zoo verheven deed, als wellicht geen natie ooit vermocht" (I 25).

[2] Hallam, Introd. to the literature of Europe (1879), vol. 1, p. 296.

do not admit their superior qualities.[1] Leaving the question aside whether the immortal Lessing has been an exception to the rule, or not, it is interesting to note that the commercial and practical character of the Jewish subdivision of the Semitic race, together with their strongly-marked type and feature, have remained nearly unchanged until the present days, when many of them are still the great bankers and merchants of Europe, and seldom excel in superior poetical qualities.

According to Professor Posnett, who has a profound knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic literature, this must be regarded more or less as a degeneration from ancient times, in which a social spirit among the Hebrews can be stated. Hebrew society in ancient times produced, not merely an ideal Utopia, but organisations like that of the Essenes, aiming at a practical return to the communism of the old Hebrew village community. There can be little doubt — he remarks — that this Hebrew village community not only lasted far on into Roman times, but (as the Russian Mir to the contemporary communism of Russian reformers) supplied a constant model of social reform and an ideal of Hebrew brotherhood, which only needed the touch of the Greek spirit to become cosmopolitan. This can also be applied, perhaps, to the condition of women. The songs of Miriam and Deborah, even the witch of Endor — it is the same Posnett who remarks it — carry us back to days of Hebrew social life, when the woman possessed a status far higher than one of her lord's harem.[2] How great is the difference when we compare some later Semitic conceptions, as may be found in the Koran, still regarded as a sacred book by millions and millions!

It is observed by great authorities that the literary value of the Koran is nihil. Professor Dozy expresses himself as fol-

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[1] Heine himself says: „Die Juden, wenn sie gut, sind sie besser, wenn schlecht, sind sie schlechter als die Christen" („Gedanken und Einfälle") — but the real comparison ought to be a comparison of race, as many Semites have adopted Christianity. It is to be noted that „the sentiments of blood-revenge are „common in early Arab and in early Saxon poetry" (Posnett, Comp. Lit. p. 97); Posnett ascribes this only to the original clan-life, not to differences of racial character.

[2] Posnett, Compar. Literature, p. 25, p. 246, p. 283, and passim.

lows: „I am obliged to confess that I do not know any book among the older Arabian ones, which shows such a perverse taste, which possesses so little originality, and which is so extremely tedious as the Koran", and this learned author of the „Histoire des Musulmans en Espagne" is certainly one of the best authorities on Arabian literature.[1] Another critic justly remarks that it really shows the practical and unpoetical spirit of the Arabians, that the glorious deeds of Mohammed and his successors have not given birth to a splendid epic poetry. But let us examine the Koran more minutely, and we shall see that it contains many traces of that same Semitic character, which seems to be congenial to the race, and which according to Professor Posnett is perhaps a degeneration from the very remote ancient times of a social Hebrew spirit and of the old Hebrew village communities.

According to the Korân,[2] friendship with unbelievers is forbidden, and the true believers are enjoined not to make friends Jews or Christians; poetry is censured, and revenge is allowed. The birth of a daughter is deemed a misfortune by the Arabians, likewise in the Korân, and this does not show a superior conception of women. The Korân prescribes the number of wives one is allowed to have; according to this „holy" scripture (as we have already seen) a wife may be chastised under certain circumstances, women in general are subject to men; and some hygienic prescriptions in this book remind us of the realism of Zola and Verlaine and other modern French writers. We may add that in several passages of the Korân the Jews, who belong to the same race, are very badly treated; according to the Jews — we read —

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[1] Cp. Doorenbos, p. 177 sqq. — T. Wright says: „The Koran, that mass of wild and unmeaning matter, which has been received so devoutly by Muhammed's followers" (Early Christianity in Arabia, London 1855, p. 161, and cp. the note ibidem).

[2] The word Korân, („Qur'ân") derived from the verb karaa, to read, signifies properly in Arabia the „reading", or rather „that which ought to be read", by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but also any particular chapter or section of it; just as the Jews call either the whole scripture or any part of it by the name of Karâh, or Mikra, words of the same origin and import".
(George Sale, The Koran, etc. Prelim. Discourse).

justice with regard to heathens need not be observed. In this book they are accused of having corrupted the scriptures and of stifling passages; they are reproved for warring against one another; it is said that they are covetous of life; and many other passages can be quoted. [1] „Das Symbolum des Islâm, to quote the words of Scherr, ist befehlerisch, hart und starr." „The symbol of the Islâm is imperious, hard and stiff". The original Arabian character seems to be more or less the same as the Jewish one; when he dies as a martyr for his faith, he has the stimulus of his practical belief in a celestial paradise. When science, in the times of the Abbasides, had reached its culminating point, it was always the practical branches of knowledge, which attracted the Arabic mind. The Arabs preferred the works of Aristotle, Dioscorides, and generally all those books whence they could derive some practical knowledge, by far to the classical and poetical productions of the same ancient Greek literature. So it follows that Arabian literature excels only in lyric poetry, and in tales; the free Bedouins, and the Arabs in general, are practical and matter-of-fact men, who even in their poetry always like to see the reality and reject the imagination.

I shall try to produce some more special examples bearing upon these characteristics of the Arabian and the Jewish mind, and of Semitic literature, in which both nations are combined.

It would be very unfair to deny that there may be found many beautiful and even sublime lyrical passages in the books of the Prophets for instance (to take for a moment the old Jewish literature), but on the other hand we notice in several places of the Old Testament the

[1] The Koran, transl. by G. Sale, etc. Index s. v. Arabians, friendship, Jews, poets, revenge, wife, and women. — *Polygamy and the Korân*, cp. H. de Castries, L' Islam, Paris 1896, Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris 1897, p. 125: „La polygamie a été reprochée à tort à l' islâm, comme le dit fort justement M. de Castries, mais ce qu' on doit lui reprocher, c'est de l'avoir régularisée et de l'avoir fait entrer dans les moeurs, ainsi que le concubinage..... Lire dans le récit de voyages d' Ibn Batoutah, le Marco Polo de l' islâm, l' histoire des unions temporaires, qu'il contracta légalement partout où il séjourna et qu'il dénoua avec la plus grande facilité. Et Ibn Batoutah était, au point de vue musulman, un homme vertueux", etc. etc.

selfish spirit, and the thirst of revenge, which is due perhaps to the inferiority of an Oriental race, when compared with the highest ideals, to which it seems that the Aryan mind can be developed. Isaiah is commonly and justly admired, but still a spirit of bloody revenge can be felt in such passages as: „For by fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh: and the slain of the Lord shall be many" (66, 16), or the following: „And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men who have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh" (66, 24), and such a spirit as occurs in these and other similar passages is not admirable at all.

It is very remarkable that the book of Hiob or Job, which is commonly regarded as the most sublime work in Hebrew poetry, rejects the spirit of selfishness and the desire of revenge. „If I have made gold my hope — Job says — or have said to the fine gold: Thou art my confidence; if I rejoiced because my wealth was great, and because mine hand had gotten much, this were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above. If I rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me, or lifted up myself when evil found him, neither have I suffered my mouth to sin by wishing a curse to his soul." (Job 31, 24—30). When we turn to the book of Job, the most Arabic of Hebrew poems — according to Posnett — we find that we have passed from the associations of the desert to those of the city, and that feelings of communal generosity have been largely lost in the transition to that settled life, in which the higgling of the market (to use Adam Smith's phrase) must soon come to be based on individual self-interest. [1] Accor-

[1] Posnett, Compar. Literature, p. 149. — According to this theory all depends upon the social conditions, and then we have to ask: Are the deep and marked differences of character between the two races only due to differences of social condition? It would be interesting to work out this point. According to the great Tylor „Anthropology finds race-differences most clearly in stature and proportions of limb, conformation of the skull and the brain within, characters of features, skin, eyes and hair, peculiarities of constitution, *and mental and moral temperament*" (Anthropology, p. 56), and again: „There is a proof that a race may keep its special characters plainly recognisable for over thirty centuries, or a hundred generations". (ibid. p. 80).

ding to this, and other passages, it seems really that Posnett ascribes nearly all the differences of character in the races, and their literature, to the social conditions, and this is very interesting, as the result of such a theory would be that the mental development of all nations, whether belonging to one race or another, ought merely to be derived from the social conditions of the society, in which they live. For me, it remains a matter of serious consideration, whether there were not from the very beginning different characteristics of race, which cannot all be traced back to different evolutions of the society in which these races appear. But I avow that the problem is far too difficult to be solved for the moment.

To continue our short reflections on Hebrew and Arabic literature, we can only quote such religious lyrical poetry as the Psalms, or such poems as the books of Ruth and of Esther, which have been called idyls and which certainly possess poetical qualities. Nor can we try to give a sketch of later Jewish productions, as for instance the Jewish Cabbala, which according to Hallam takes a rank in the class of traditional theology, or what might be called complemental revelation. These and other writings, he remarks, formed a huge mass of imposture, which for more than a hundred years after this time obtained an undue credence, and consequently retarded the course of real philosophy in Europe.[1] Even less can we speak about the Talmud and other Jewish writings, admired by one party, and criticized by others, because we have now to pass to a much more important division of Semitic literature, the Arabian one, and to give some more examples of it. It is to be understood that we can only treat general questions here, leaving the fuller knowledge of such an important literary branch as Arabian literature really is, to the study of the specialist.

Arabian scientific literature, according to one of the

[1] Hallam, Introd. to the literature of Europe (1879), vol. 1, p. 205—206. — For the knowledge of the Talmud cp.: The Talmud, Selections from the contents of that ancient book, its commentaries, teachings, poetry and legends, also brief sketches of the men who made and commented upon it. Transl. from the original by H. Polano, London, F. Warne and Co., s. a. 8°. 359 p. — For Jewish literature in general, the writings of G. Karpeles (1886), J. D. Wijnkoop (1901), and many others.

most learned living English physicians, was founded mainly on the Greek. The Arabian Musulmans were „assimilators" so to say, their compilations were of enormous extent, what now survives is but a fragment. But they did not care for poetry. „Little had been heard of Plato through the Arabs, who cared little for his poetic method." (Ideal Commonwealths, with an introd. by Henry Morley, Lond. 1893, p. 6.) In mathematics, as is well known, the Arabs surpassed their teachers; in medicine, especially in pharmacy and in the recognition of new diseases, they added much that was new; though in anatomy they went backward rather than forward.[1] But let us return from the medieval Arabs in Spain, although they are an interesting object of study, to the Arabs in Arabia and in the Orient in general, because there is their real home, and there they have created their most primitive and original literature. There Arab poetry sprang to life, a great deal of which owed its origin to tribal wars, of the poetry of which so fine specimens are given by Mr. Posnett.

Generally speaking, Arabian poetry seems to be an elder and more richly developed, and more freely educated sister of Hebrew poetry, but still a great unity of character is noticeable. The masterpieces of Arab poetry, says de Goeje, one of the modern authorities, consist of that literature, in which the poet depicts his own passions, the courage which leads him when he goes into a struggle, the love that fills his heart and gives him pleasure and sorrow, and the grief which overcomes him at the loss of a friend and a fellow soldier. The verses in which the poet praises himself and his clansmen, or detracts from the merits of his enemy and of his family, will not make such an impression upon us, although they possess great historical value, and deserve to be studied, containing beauty of form, accuracy of expression, and

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[1] J. F. Payne, Harvey and Galen, London—Oxford 1897, p. 15. — Cp. above all the works of Professor Dozy and other authorities. It is a very interesting question, whether the Arabs really *created* much, or compiled rather the creations of another race (Aryans, Greeks), as this would be very conclusive for the comparison between Semites and Aryans. [About the paper-making by the Arabs cf. E. M. Thompson, Handb. of Gr. and Lat. palaeography, Lond. 1894, p. 43.]

boldness of comparisons and of pictures.[1] But it is remarkable that the same realism, which distinguishes the Jew, marks also the Arabian character. The Arabs had the elements of an heroical epic, but they did not go beyond those elements. They had no religious exaltation whatever, their poetry was secular, and their works in prose are far superior to their poetry. Metaphysical questions they did not care for. To turn to some special questions, we draw attention again to the inferior conception of woman and her rights. In the Hamâseh or „Valour", an anthology, (published by Freytag at Bonn in 1851) we are told that, besides many other things, it contains also *lampoons against women.* The most characteristical however, of those poems — we are told again — are the lampoons which one tribe composed against an other tribe. It is not sufficient to trace back this more or less rude poetry, rude because it contains rude feelings, to the rude social state in which the primitive Arabs lived. When we find, even in modern society, two or more Jews quarelling together and insulting one another in a too passionate and contemptuous manner [I have only to quote Heine's Beerenmeyer against Meyerbeer, etc.], we stop to ask if this can traced back to a moral and mental disposition of the whole Semitic race, or not? — Many fine specimens of English translations of the Arab poetry of blood-revenge are contained in Posnett's work, who compares the blood-revenge as found in passages of Homer, and in the

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[1] de Goeje, De belangrijkheid van de beoefening der Arabische taal en letterkunde, 's Gravenhage 1866, p. 10 (as cited by Doorenbos, vol. 1, p. 166) It is to be remembered that the Dutch nation has contributed very largely to the knowledge of Arabian language and literature. — An English writer says: »The poems of the Arabs were of a peculiar character; commencing generally with the praise of his mistress, the poet proceeds to celebrate the bravery of his tribe, and almost always concludes by describing his personal exploits". (T. Wright, Early Christianity in Arabia. London, 1855, p. 107) What Schlegel says, is somewhat superficial: „Arabic poetry is of so local a character as scarcely to admit of being transplanted; indeed, a certain degree of acquaintance with Arab life is absolutely necessary if we desire to appreciate, or even thoroughly to understand their poetry" (Lectures on the history of literature, Lond. 1868, p. 181). — This applies more or less to all kinds of literature.

Beowulf. Only it is much to be regretted that Professor Posnett did not work out this comparison, as we should like to know if there exists any difference between Aryans and Semites in the important matter of blood-revenge. Tylor in his Anthropology (p. 416 sqq.) gives us very interesting comparative material, but he does not touch this special question. We ought always to be very careful in drawing our conclusions, as (for instance) the same distinguished German scholar, v. Ihering, who admits the moral superiority of the Aryans, says in another passage that filial affection is not one of their characteristics and that in this respect they are surpassed by all other nations [sic], for instance by the Jews (amongst the commandments in the Decalogue one is devoted to the honouring of parents), and above all by the Chinese, with whom filial affection is not only the first commandment, but the basis of the whole moral law. [1]

Amongst Arabian poets we could mention perhaps, as very characteristical, Motanabbi (915—965 p.C.), who is regarded as one of the greatest. A modern critic remarks that the artificial and exaggerated poems and odes of this poet, who betrays everywhere his vanity and his love of money, do not appeal to us; but at the same time he reminds us of the fact that Orientals do not agree with that opinion, as there have been forty commentators, who spent their time and labour to explain his poems. [2] According to J. von Hammer, who translated all his works (published in Vienna, 1824), he is the greatest of Arabian poets. But at the same time it is mentioned that his best praise has always been given to those who paid him best. Is this again a common Semitic trait, or was it only a peculiar charac-

[1] The evolution of the Aryan, p. 34.

[2] Doorenbos, l. l. p. 184. As regards Heine, cp. the interesting note in Scherr, vol. 2, p. 307, who calls Heine „ein charakterloser Mensch", a man without character (?) It would have been much more scientific to trace back his character, and that of others, to primitive sources (if possible). This is above all a question of meaning, of semasiology, Lady Welby's favourite topic. Charakter-los, in German, zede-loos, in Dutch, etc. etc. means no more than: not corresponding to *our* modern idea of morality. Cp. the observations of the great Dutch thinker and writer Multatuli about „zedeloos", in his „Ideën".

teristic of Motanabbi? we come to ask. May we compare Motanabbi's love of money with a similar character in Heine, who (according to Scherr) accepted a yearly allowance from the „secret fund", under the reign of Louis Philippe, and at the same time is (justly) regarded by many as one of the greatest German poets? Or has the one nothing to do with the other?[1] I think the first question is, whether we can get such a number of facts as will allow us to draw general conclusions from them. The study of races and ethnology, compared with the study of literature, seems still to be in its infancy.

For the knowledge of Arabian literature the already mentioned collection or anthology of the Hamâseh, and also the so-called Moallakat or Mo'allaqah (to use the transcriptions of Professor Posnett) seem to be the best sources. Besides this poetry we have the Arabian fables and tales, which are not original but have been translated and adapted from foreign sources.

The originality of such literary productions as the beast-epic and the Oriental tales is always a very difficult question, but for a comparison of the Semitic with the Aryan race this question is very important, as it may prove again whether the Semites have a creative mind and imagination, idealism in a very general sense of the word, or not. According to the best authorities the Arabian fables and tales are taken from Indian, probably Aryan sources; this refers to Lokman's fables, to the well-known Kalilah wa Dimnah, which seems to be an imitation of the Pancatantra and of the Hitopadeça, to the tales of the „Arabian Nights", and other fables. If this is true it proves again some inferiority of the Semites, taken as a race. This, it seems, applies also to their scientific work, but only a few words on this subject. The Greeks — as Hallam says — among their other vast superiorities above the Arabians, who borrowed so much and so much perverted what they borrowed, were not only

[1] In the Talmud we find also: „It is well to add a trade to „your studies, if you would remain free from sin", and: „The „tradesman at his work is the equal of the most learned doc- „tor". — The Talmud, Selections, etc. etc. translated from the original by H. Polano. The „Chandos Classics". London, s. a. p. 3. cp. p. 286 sqq.

the real founders, but the best teachers of medicine Instead of Hippocrates and Galen, the Arabians brought in physicians of their own, men, doubtless, of considerable, though inferior, merit, and substituted arbitrary or empirical precepts for the enlarged philosophy of the Greeks. [1]

Taken as a whole, we must confess that the character of the Semites and their literature shows itself a little to us, by the above-given although scanty materials. From the very beginning till our present days it seems that some remarkable race-qualities remain, and this is observed by nearly all the critics, although they differ of course in their qualifications and in their observations about special topics. A modern American author, Stedman, in his remarkable book on the nature and elements of poetry, remarks that there is no literature, at once so grand and so familiar to us as the Hebrew one. But at the same time he confesses that the Hebrew was, and the orthodox Israelite remains, a „magnificent egoist". Himself, his past, and his future, are a passion. They are (he adds) not his deepest passion, he has an intenser emotion concerning his own race, the chosen people, a more fervent devotion to Jehovah — his own Jehovah, if not the God of a universe. „His God was a very human one." [2] All this is very true, but when the same distinguished critic observes that the poetry of the Scriptures possesses an attribute, which is only to be found in the most creative and impersonal literature of other tongues, that of universality, we cannot agree with him. The Semitic character seems to be individual, and can scarcely become universal according to the materials, we have to judge from. Universality ought to embrace not only the own race but also other races, other peoples and other nations. I mention again the conception of equality of the sexes, as this is so very important. A modern writer remarks about the peasants or fellaheen, and village life in Palestine of to-day, the

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[1] Hallam, Introd. to the literature of Europe, vol. 1, p. 465. Cp. p. 160 about the merits of the Arabians in arithmetic. This question is of great importance, as here also it must be clearly shown whether the Semites possess a creative mind, or not.

[2] Edmund Clarence Stedman, The nature and elements of poetry. London, Cassell & Co. s. a. (1892), p. 83 sqq.

following: „Very little notice is usually taken of the entry into the family of a female member, as she brings no honour with her. In fact, she is of no account until she approaches a marriageable age, and then she represents so much capital, and it is possible for her father to receive credit from the trader who supplies him with sugar, rice, and coffee, on that account. A man having three daughters can reckon himself worth from £ 60 to £ 120, according to their age and appearance. But in spite of this value *they are not counted in the number of his children.* If he is asked the number of his children and he has 3 sons and 3 daughters, he answers „three", reckoning only the sons. as daughters don't count, they are not children to him." [1] According to many observations and to many authorities of to day, the same opinions prevail also amongst part of the Jews, in a more or less civilized and idealized form of course, as they are living amongst other races and many of them attain a great amount of wealth, and the benefits of the best modern education.

These and other facts, mentioned above, tend to strengthen a little our opinion of some inferiority of Semitic and some superiority of Aryan literature, and we now have to turn to the latter, and to consider the question more closely; what is the real character of Aryan literature, and what follows from a comparison of it with Semitic literature? — This comparison will become, we hope, still more interesting if it can be extended also to a third race; and I should like to take as a third example the Altaic or Ural-Altaic race (sometimes erroneously called the Turanian race), as we possess nowadays already an important mass of materials, taken from the languages and the literature of this race, so widely spread over Asia and the oriental parts of Europe. [2]

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[1] G. Robinson Lee, Village life in Palestine. A description of the religion, home life, manners, customs, etc. etc. With illust. London 1897. 8°. p. 60—61.

[2] According to von Ihering, we have seen, *idealism* is the marking trait of the Aryans, as opposite to the Semitic character. If this is true, nothing is perhaps more interesting to be studied, than the „*Ideal*" *Commonwealths*, a translation of which has been published by Prof. H. Morley (6. edit. Lond.

The history of the Aryan (or Indo-European) race is of a later date. It first appeared on the world's stage in the far East, when the Persian empire of Cyrus and his successors was founded on the ruins of an older civilisation, belonging to Semitic and other nations. The Persians were afterwards defeated bij the Hellenes, another subdivision of their own race, and what we owe to the culture and development of the ancient Greeks I shall not venture to repeat here. With Alexander the Great it even seemed that Hellenic civilisation would found an empire, combining Asia and Europe, but it was only a transient dream; and another nation of the Aryan race then entered the stage, the Romans erected their world-empire, adopted the literary treasures of Hellenism, and introduced everywhere their spirit of law and order and organisation. Christianity was spread over the world, sprung from Jewish origin, but entirely modified by the introduction of Aryan (Greek) elements. — After the Roman empire came the Teutonic nations, who destroyed the old and rotten state of things, and gradually became a civilized and civilizing power in Europe.

Only for a while did it seem that the Semitic race would play again a certain part in Europe, when a division of them founded in Spain the celebrated empire of the Musulmans (or Maurs, or Saracens), but finally they were defeated and repulsed by the other races, and then began the last and the most beautiful period of the Indo-Europeans, the period in which we still live. The European peoples (we can proudly say) represent now since many centuries civilisation and enlightenment, they bring the fruits of this civilisation everywhere, and they seem to have the high duty of ruling the world, as England, for instance, already rules part of the waves. For the moment the Teutonic subdivision of the race (Scandinavians, Germans,

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Manchester, New-York, 1893. 8°. 284 p.) This edition comprehends: 1. Plutarch's Lycurgus. 2. More's Utopia (1515—16). 3. Bacon's New Atlantis (1629). 4. Campanella's City of te Sun (± 1600). 5. A fragment of Hall's Mundus alter et idem, published 1607. All these are descriptions and satires of ideal worlds, made by Aryans since many centuries. Is there any such book written by an Arabian or Hebrew writer? This question deserves some attention.

Englishmen, Americans, Dutchmen) seems to be the bearer of the greatest culture, because the Romanic peoples are going slowly backward and the Slaves have not yet reached their highest degree, but certainly there will come a period when these Slaves, who now already have a grand feeling of nationality, will enter the European stage still more and perhaps take the leading part. [1]

This so far as concerns the history of our race. Now what can be observed about the general character of that race, as divided into so many nations, and to be derived from the study of literature? If we try to give an answer to this question, this will naturally be a comparison with the Semitic race, as it has been sketched in the foregoing lines.

The fact (observes von Ihering) that the typical contrast between Aryans and Semites can still be recognized in their descendants after the lapse of thousands of years, proves that their respective national character must have been very clearly defined when the daughter-nations separated from the mother-nations. For the ancient Aryans this is proved by their language; for the Babylonians, by the high degree of civilisation to which they had attained at the time that the Phoenicians and the Jews branched off from them, and which can have been the work only of thousands of years. [2] The same learned German writer complains that this contrast has not been studied up to his time by historians, Ranke avoiding the subject in his „History of the world", and Renan tracing it back only to a contrast between Polytheism and Monotheism. We can add that the learned German writer Eugen Dühring

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[1] An excellent general description of this history of our Aryan race is given by the learned Dutchman Beckering Vinckers, in his translation of Whitney: Taal en taalstudie, Haarlem 1881, vol. 2, p. 116 sqq., and especially p. 118 sqq. (. Reeds sedert ettelijke eeuwen hebben de Europeesche volken buiten kijf de hoofdrol op het groote tooneel van de geschiedenis der wereld gespeeld. Zij zijn het verlichte en verlichting-verbreidende gedeelte van het menschdom", etc. etc.).

[2] The evolution of the Aryan, p. 231. — The existence of the three characteristic institutions of Babylonian civilized life, maritime navigation (Phoenicians), architecture (Jews), and commerce (Jews) can be traced back to at least thirty centuries B. C. (the founding of Sidon, about 3000 B. C.), ibid. p. 231, note.

has treated the subject in several works, which perhaps might be called „anti-semitic", because he proposes to exclude the Semites (i. e. the Jews) as much as possible from all the higher positions in Europe. But apart from this question, we have already seen that von Ihering calls *a higher moral elevation, and idealism*, the leading trait in the character of the Aryans, and we have already, in a preceding lecture, given some examples to confirm this opinion and to work it out.

It really seems that the character of Semitic literature is essentially lyrical, and that only the Aryans have developed an epos and a drama. We tried to explain these facts by a somewhat selfish character, by egotism on the one side, and by a greater altruism, that is to say idealism in the highest sense of the word, on the other side. Expressed in other words, as Shelley writes in his preface to the first edition of „The Revolt of Islam", (according to altruism) „love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law „which should govern the moral world". This is essentially what we can call Aryan idealism. But the same spirit appears already in the New Testament, of which a new edition ought to be prepared, in which the Aryan and the Semitic elements ought to be clearly examined, and compared as much as possible. [1] The words of Paul the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Corinthians: „Now abideth „faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of „these is charity," these words breathe a true Aryan spirit, and it seems even as if they have been written purposely, to contest and to combat a more selfish spirit amongst the people, to whom these words were addressed. — To call the question by another name, a new chapter, or rather two new chapters, ought to be written on the individual and on the social spirit in world-literature, and

[1] According to Posnett, Compar. Liter. p. 287, „evident are the marks of the old Hebrew social idealism on the Christian, clear is it that the ideal community of Ezekiel is spiritualised and universalised in the Christian brotherhood, and that, however the conditions of the Roman empire, or the temporal power Christianity afterwards acquired, or the industrial development of modern Europe, have thrown the social spirit of Christianity into the background, the creed whose individual side was expressed by Dante, was above all things the mighty utterance of man's social spirit."

what is partly done already in Posnett's work, ought to be revised, enlarged as much as possible, and to be combined with a minute investigation of these two great, divergent and opposite, principles in literature, compared with the physical and (if possible) the mental and moral inquiry into the Aryan and the Semitic races. We can only for the moment make a modest beginning.

But it cannot too often be repeated, as I have already done several times, that I do not accept the possibility of tracing back all things, or nearly all, to questions of property, of individual or social (or communal) possession. This is perhaps a serious error in Posnett's book, in which the great and enormous differences of race are not mentioned, and not described. A scientific and thorough comparison of Semitic and Aryan races ought to examine all the physical features, from ancient times (possibly) down to the present day, and to put the question whether mental and moral differences can be explained by any of these features? Besides that, the crossing of both races ought to be studied. And finally, all this ought to be done in reference also to literary merit, and to literature in general. — I doubt whether we possess already the necessary materials, which can lead to a satisfactory and definitive answer to these interesting comparative problems. [1].

About the primitive Aryans one of the greatest anthropologists, Tylor, remarks that it is hard to draw any certain bodily picture of them, for in their course of migration and conquest they so mingled with other races, that now the nations united by Aryan speech range through the utmost varieties of white men, from the Icelander to the Hindû. Their praehistoric hymn-book, he says shows the old patriarchal Aryan life, with the herds of cattle roaming over wide pastures or shut in the winter cow-stall, the ploughing of the fields and the reaping of the corn, the family ties and legal rights, the worship of the great nature-gods of sky and earth, sun and dawn, fire and water and winds, the intense belief in the

[1] For the crossing of the races and an attempt of classification, according to the skin (colour, Sanskrit varna), of two great divisions, the dark-whites and the fair-whites (melanochroi, xanthochroi), cp. Tylor, Anthropology, p. 107 sqq. (and Archiv f. Anthropologie, Braunschweig 1901, p. 212).

shining regions of the immortal dead, the honour to the almsgiver and praise to the just man. And in the sacred books of the old Persians, collected in the Avesta, have come down the long-remembered traditions of another branch of the Aryan race, who, dividing off from their Brahman kinsfolk, followed the faith of Zarathustra.

If all the observations of the learned Tylor are true, it seems still much more difficult to draw any literary picture, a mental and moral description so to say, of the primitive Aryans before their separation. An enormous problem puts itself before our eyes, and it belongs only to the future to solve it in a satisfactory manner. I will only consider one, but one very important, side of the question, namely the conception of women, the place of women in literature, and the literary productions of women, belonging to the Aryan race, because firstly this is one of the most interesting sides of the question, and because we have already observed that the Semitic race seems to have an inferior conception, from which the Aryans have „evolutionized" themselves, to use a term which can be applied to all comparative and historical studies. The practice of buying wives, as showing an inferior conception of women, exists among the Zulu and numerous other tribes, it has existed more or less amongst the Semites, but the higher emancipation of women seems rather to have been accomplished by the Aryans [1]

[1] cf. the interesting notes of Tylor, Anthropology, p. 404 sqq., and for South Africa the narrative of B. J. Haarhoff, Die Bantu-stämme Süd-Afrikas. Eine ethnologisch-mythologische Studie. Leipzig. G. Fock 1890. 8°. p. 82 sqq. (and passim).

## APPENDIX TO THE SEVENTH LECTURE.

### Lassen's opinion about Aryans—Semites.

„.....Semiten und Indogermanen. Die letzten sind ohne Zweifel die am höchsten begabten..... und wir müssen unter den Kaukasischen Völkern den Indogermanen entschieden die Palme zuerkennen. *Wir halten dieses nicht für zufällig, sondern glauben, es entspringe aus der höheren und vollständigeren Begabung der letzteren.* Die Geschichte bezeugt, dass die Semiten nicht das harmonische Gleichmass aller Seelenkräfte besitzen, durch welche die Indogermanen hervorragen..... Die Poesie des Semiten ist lyrisch, daher subjectiv; wir berufen uns auf die grossen Sammlungen Arabischer Gedichte. Das Epos gelingt ihm nicht, noch weniger das Drama..... Die Indogermanischen Völker besitzen neben der lyrischen auch die anderen Gattungen der Poesie..... die grossen Schöpfungen der Sculptur und Malerei gehören nur den Indogermanischen Völkern. Auch die Philosophie gehört den Semiten nicht..... In seiner Religion ist der Semite selbstsüchtig und ausschliessend... Ihrer Lehre nach mussten die Semiten intolerant und zum Fanatismus, wie zur starren Anhänglichkeit an ihr religiöses Gesetz geneigt sein," etc. etc.

*Chr. Lassen*, Indische Alterthumskunde. I. Bdes 1. Hälfte. Bonn, H. B. König 1843. 8°. p. 414—417.

EIGHTH LECTURE

## Beginning of comparison of the literature of one race with the literature of another.

1) Aryans-Semites. (Continuation).

To sketch the conception of women in Aryan literature is already an enormously wide field, and I cannot but give some few examples, taken at random from the different periods.

Not only do women (among the Indian Aryans of the Vedic age) enjoy a high position — marriage being held sacred, husband and wife being alike *dampatí* or „rulers of the house", and the burning of widows on their husband's funeral piles being unknown — but even „some of „the most beautiful of the hymns were composed by ladies „and queens" (Posnett, 299). As far as concerns India in later times, we can draw beautiful specimens from J. Muir's work „Metrical translations from Sanskrit writers, with an introduction, prose versions, and parallel passages from classical authors (London, Trübner 1879). The women of Rājputāna, he tells us, maintain in more recent times the character of heroism, ascribed to Vidulā in his passage of the Mahābhārata. [1] Like the ancient Germans or Scandinavians [rather the Kelts, I think], the Rajpoot consults his wife in every transaction, from her ordinary

[1] But cp., on the other hand, the immolations of Indian widows, and the observations about this horrible practice by Schlegel, Lectures on the history of literature, London 1868, p. 116—117.

actions he draws the omens of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of devī, or godlike. Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion, than those of the Rajpoots." [1] Besides this example, we find many other specimens, taken from the Mahābhārata and from other sources. The following praise of women, f. i., reminds us of Schiller's immortal Lied von der Glocke:

„That dame deserves the name of wife,
Whose husband is her breath of life,
Who, versed in all indoor affairs,
Her lord relieves of household cares,
Who fills his house, a mother proud,
With children bright, a merry crowd.
A wife is half the man, transcends
In value far all other friends,
She every earthly blessing brings,
And even redemption from her springs." [1]

Or again, when the poet sings in the Mahābhārata:

„The wife is half the man, his priceless friend,
Of pleasure, virtue, wealth, his constant source,
A help and stay along his earthly course,
Through life unchanging, yea, beyond its end,

and in many other passages, a high conception of women is shown. The same appears, more or less, in the Indian drama. We have only to cite the love of Sakuntala (Çakuntalâ) and the king Duschanta in the famous drama of Kâlidâsa, or the character of Vasantasena in the Mrcchakatikâ, who is a „hetaera" according to the Greek name, but whose love for Charudatta is still a very pure one. An English version of the last-mentioned drama is contained in the well-known work of Wilson. [3]

Turning from India, properly called, to Iran (Eran) and Persia, we are able to cite in an English version the conception of women in the Sháh Náméh, that masterpiece

[1] P. 133.

[2] P. 133—134. Every one will compare Schiller's touching lines: Und drinnen waltet Die züchtige Hausfrau, Und herrschet weise, Im häuslichen Kreise, Die Mutter der Kinder, etc. etc.

[3] The different versions of this interesting drama are all cited in the latest, Dutch, version of it by J. Ph. Vogel, which appeared in Amsterdam, 1897. cp. „Aanteekeningen", ibidem p. 183—184.

of the Persian poet Firdausí (Firdusi). According to a German critic, the love-story of Byzun and Manijeh, the daughter of Afrásiyáb, is one of the most beautiful love-stories, ever told by a poet; we can only cite here the message, sent to Byzun by the nurse of the fair princess Manijeh:

„O gallant youth, no farther roam,
This summer-tent shall be thy home,
Then will the clouds of grief depart,
From this enamoured, anxious heart.
For thee I live — thou art the light
Which makes my future fortune bright.
Should arrows pour like showers of rain
Upon my head — 't would be in vain,
Nothing can ever injure me,
Blessed with thy love — possessed of thee." [1]

But especially in Europe, already amongst the ancient Greeks, we find the most beautiful and tender evolution of female character, and female poets, of whose works — it is to be regretted — only scanty fragments remain. Every one knows Sappho, much admired and beautifully translated into Latin by Catullus. We have, as Stedman remarks, the world's accepted type in Love's priestess of Mitylene, the „violet-crowned, pure, sweetly smiling Sappho". The pity of it is that we have only the glory of her name, celebrated by her contemporaries and successors, and justified to us by two lyrics in the stanzaic measure of her invention, and by a few fragments of verse more lasting than the tablets of the Parthenon. But the „Hymn to Aphrodite", and the „*Φαίνεταί μοι Κῆνος*" are enough to assure us that no other singer has so united the intensity of passion with charm of melody and form. A panting, living woman, a radiant artist, are immanent in every verse. After twenty-five centuries, Sappho leads the choir of poets that have sung their love; and from her time to that of Elizabeth Browning no woman has so distinguished

[1] The Sháh Námeh of Firdausí. Transl. in prose and verse by J. Atkinson. London, N.-York 1886, 8°, p. 202 sqq. cp. Scherr, Gesch. d. Litter. I 92 „Eine der schönsten Liebesgeschichten, welche jemals ein Dichter erzählt hat", etc., and F. Loliée, Hist. des littératures Comparées, Paris, p. 123—124.

her sex. [1] But there are others besides Sappho in this ever-lasting period of ancient Greek culture. [2] There rises before our eyes the magnificent figure of Antigone, as immortalized by the great Sophocles. „I am born not to hate, but to love" is the highest conception of womankind, as uttered already by that immortal heroine. And the words „to love" are here not taken in their main bodily sense (συμφιλεῖν), Antigone uses an expression which shows a much higher conception than the mere passion of the senses.

This is the same spirit, which we have already met in the words of Paul the Apostle, and in the verses of Shelley.

Both the characters of Antigone and Sappho combined can show us still better the creative genius of the Aryans, as visible in ancient Greece, because in Sappho the bodily passion, in Antigone the purely mental element seems to prevail. Much could be added with regard to that glorious period of Aryan life, but I do not wish to speak here about the Erinna's, the Corinna's, the Myrtides, and other types of female emancipation. Only the type of Aspasia, so beautifully described afterwards in the novel of the great Austrian poet Robert Hamerling, this type deserves perhaps more than others to be mentioned. It is not because I should like to repeat here all we know about this renowned Greek „hetaera", but because this custom is traced back by Boltz to a Semitic origin. According to him the Semites (Phoenicians, and others) have introduced the „hetaera's" into Greece, where it seems that this custom has flourished especially in Corinth, that rich and wealthy commercial town, where so many festivals were held, and where it seems that from time to time more than a thousand of these „hetaera's" or courtesans must have found their way. Whether this theory of a Semitic origin is true, I cannot judge. [3]

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[1] Stedman, The nature and elements of poetry, p. 87—88.

[2] Cp. for an opposite view, Schlegel's Lectures on the history of literature, Lond. 1868, p. 32: Upon the whole, Greece very closely imitated the Asiatic customs of female separation and isolation, and the unfavourable results are but too apparent in the whole extent of their literature". —

[3] cp. A. Boltz, Vasantasena und die Griechischen Hetären im Indischen Drama, in the periodical „Hellas", vol. 5, Leiden

But if it is true, the history of the hetaera's itself shows some superiority of the Aryan mind, as the Greeks have idealized, lifted up so to say, what they had borrowed from the Semites. Aspasia and other types of female beauty appear to us combined with the great statesman Pericles, with the great philosopher Socrates, and it is rather what we can call with Shelley their „intellectual beauty", that intense combination of beautiful female form with deep feeling and high development of mind, it is the artistic side of free love, which has given inspiration to the thoughts and feelings of those two great men, and of others living in the same immortal „commonwealth", Athens. It is not the lower, and inferior, it is the superior part of female nature which prevails.

And this superior part was not only by the Greeks brought to its highest expression and most beautiful development. We can follow one line, although it has many curves, in the idealization of women by the Aryans. We pass from antiquity to the middle ages, and there again we meet Dante's Beatrice and Petrarca's Laura as the high, the Aryan conception of womanhood and womankind.

Such a conception as Dante's Beatrice for instance („Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare La donna mia", etc.) shows undoubtedly a superiority to the foregoing Semitic ideas. Nothing of this kind, so far as is known to me, is to be found in the Old Testament. When Dante saw Beatrice he exclaimed: „Look, a god, more mighty than I am, came to „overpower me" (Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi). This passionate love for Beatrice Portinari, who is the great poetical ideal of his Divina Commedia, is perhaps even superior to the well-known „Frauengestalten"

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1895, p. 295: „Dies Institut ist für Europa nachweislich semitischen Ursprunges, und jedenfalls durch Semiten (Phönizier u. A.) nach Griechenland gebracht worden, wo es in Korinth, der reichen Handelsstadt, wohl infolge der zahlreichen Feste, an denen ungeheuere Volksmassen theilnamen, sich in ungewöhnlicher Weise entwickelte, und vielleicht zur Notwendigkeit geworden war (über 1000 Hetären waren zeitweis daselbst in Thätigkeit)." Boltz compares the Babylonian custom (Herodot. 1, 199), and the history of Tamar and Juda in the Old Testament. To work out this subject, would be an interesting contribution towards a comparative treatment of the Semitic and Aryan races.

of Goethe, it has perhaps nothing sensual in it, at least it seems such an idealized love that only a race, which is gifted with idealism, could produce such a conception. As far as regards Petrarca, the learned Hallam remarks: Many wrote on the subject of his love for Laura; and a few denied its Platonic purity, which however the academy of Ferrara thought fit to decree. One of the heretics, by name Cresci, ventured also to maintain that she was married; but this probable hypothesis had not many followers."

Turning from the Romans to the Celts, we have already seen that this division of the Aryans possessed more than others a high reverence, a deep respect for women. The Celtic race possessed, and the Celtic populations of this day still possess, a very strong imagination, and it is quite natural that this imagination involved also an adoration of the female sex. It is remarkable that the greatest contrasts can be observed, in general, in the very mixed English nation of these days, and these contrasts must probably be traced back to the mixture of the Celtic element with so many others. The great reverence for women among the male sex, and the free and independent, yet kind and gentle and truly feminine character of the female sex, in England and in America, deserves a careful study from an ethnological point of view. Nowhere has women-literature developed itself so richly and so strongly.

In France, where we also find a mixture of the Roman with the Celtic element, many women have distinguished themselves, and the names of Madame de Sévigné, Madame de Stael, of George Sand, and others are known to every student of literature. [Ninon de l'Enclos, Mesdames de Montespan, de Coulanges, de la Sablière, de Maintenon, etc .etc.] — But nevertheless this literary element has never been so strong as in England. In France the sensual and emotional, in Teutonic countries the mental and moral element of the female sex prevails; not only England but also Scandinavia and Germany and Holland, or rather the Netherlands (which formerly comprised also Belgium), show an interesting development of what we can call female literature.

A long and distinguished list of women-writers, of poetesses, passes before our eyes, when we consider the

history of the Teutonic peoples, spread nowadays over Scandinavia, Germany and Holland, England and America, and from England also over the other continents, Africa and Australia. Perhaps no better example can be given of the inborn idealism, which distinguishes our race, than a literary sketch of what Goethe called „Das Ewig-Weibliche," the everlasting female element, and what is still more beautifully expressed in Schiller's „Ehret die Frauen, sie „flechten und weben Himmlische Rosen ins irdische Leben", as Schiller is really one of the best representatives of the deep and ideal feelings, which lift us up from this earthly sphere to a higher one, to which we perhaps partly belong. [1]

When we consider first of all the eastern-German branch, it is remarkable that in this part of the Teutonic settlement, so to say, women-literature is not very strong, as is the case also with political freedom and unity, although there are many exceptions. Already in the middle ages, we are told, a German nun, whose name is commonly spelled „Roswitha" (also „Hruodswintha"), of Gandersheim, wrote Latin comedies after Terence's example, as Latin was in those times the church-language and the language of culture (about 965). But the authenticity of some of her works seems to be doubtful. [2] Since her times till the present century of course many female names can be given (Bettina v. Arnim, Rahel Levin, Annette Droste-Hülshoff, Elise Polko, Marlitt, and many others), but still there

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[1] Schiller's mother was Elisabeth Dorothea Kodweis, born at Marbach, 1733. — In her circle (Sauppe says) she was thought by her early playmates a kind of enthusiast; because with average faculties of understanding, she combined deep feeling, true piety and love of Nature, a talent for Music, nay even for Poetry. But perhaps it was the very reverse qualities in her, the fact namely that what she wanted in culture, and it may be also in clearness and sharpness of understanding, was so richly compensated by warmth and lovingness of character — perhaps it was this which most attracted to her the heart of her deeply-reasonable husband."

The life of Friedrich Schiller, comprehending an examination of his works. By Thomas Carlyle. London, 2 i edition (1845), p. 224 sqq.

[2] Vilmar, Geschichte der Deutschen National-Literatur, 6e Aufl. Marburg 1856, p. 42. — Scherr, Literatur, II p. 141, where the note is to be compared. — W. Scherer, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur. Berlin 1889, p. 57 sqq.

seems to be no great and eminent female writer, whose works belong to world-literature. It would be an interesting problem to find out the causes of this phenomenon.

From Germany we pass to Scandinavia, and thence to Holland. In the Scandinavian countries there is a very intense poetical element, somewhat mystical and pessimistic, and many literary women have distinguished themselves in the native country of Jenny Lind and Christine Nilsson. To quote all the distinguished names, such f. i. as Frederika Bremer, and Flygare-Carlén, and so many women-novelists of to-day, must be left to the special history of Scandinavian literature. But I will give two striking examples only, which characterize the land of the „fjords". First of all, I take the noble poem of Frithiof, a Norwegian story, told in verse by Esaias Tegnér, Bishop of Vexio and Sweden's most favoured minstrel. The description of the mutual affection of Frithiof and Ingebore represents the true and deep feelings of love, which seem to belong to Northern climates and especially to the Western Aryans. Perfect in purity and simplicity are the opening lines:

„In Hilding's hut, and Norway's clime,
Grew two sweet plants, in perfect prime,
And ne'er before were fairer given
To smile on earth, or gaze at heaven.

„I say, they grew towards flowers and fruit,
And Frithiof was the sapling shoot,
And Ingebore the rose that vied it,
The lovely rose that blushed beside it.

„What Frithiof learned the day before,
He taught the next to Ingebore,
And proud was he, when Beles daughter
Had learned the letters Frithiof taught her.

„When night was o'er, and day took birth,
The bright hair'd day, to rouse the earth,
And men were out, and nought was lonely,
They thought about each other only.

„When day was down and night took birth,
The dark hair'd night, to still the earth,
And stars were out, and all was lonely,
They dream'd about each other only." [1]

[1] Frithiof, a Norwegian story, from the Swedish of Esaias

And the closing lines:

„Whose is the maiden train that enters now?
Whose is yon lady of the regal brow?
Bright as the moon, the empress of the sky,
While still attendant stars stand shining by,
Lovely and young and looking like a bride,
Before the rest she moves to Halfdan's side,
And if her eye be wet, her cheek be pale,
But half conceals them with her silver veil.
Is it because she loves her brother best,
That so she sinks, in silence, on his breast?
No, Frithiof! No, there is a voice within,
Stronger than that of brotherhood or kin.
So sink the maids that, not unhoped for, meet,
Friends of their childhood whom they fear to greet,
So proud and patient bosoms weakest prove,
Before the spirits that alone they love.
I say, that Frithiof took her hand, before
The approving brother, and the priest did pour
Blessings on Frithiof and Ingebore." [1]

And as a second example, I quote the dramatic poem „Brand" of Henrik Ibsen, not for the writer's sake, because he is a man, but because Brand's wife, Agnes, is one of the finest and sublimest conceptions of female character, as created by the Teutonic race. The first German translator, Siebold, makes the following remarks: „The dramatic poem „Brand" is not only religious-„philosophical, but at the same time essentially Norwegian. „Ibsen has splendidly succeeded in embodying here into real „Norwegian figures the ideas of the Danish philosopher „S. Kierkegaard, which influenced him formerly. The „hero of the drama is a priest, who tries to unite words „and actions in each regard, and who sacrifices all to „the severest fulfilment of his duties. At his side stands a „splendid female figure, his wife Agnes, who combines „heroism with the intensest devotion and sweetness." [2]

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Tegnér. By R. G. Latham, M. A., fellow of King's College, Cambridge. — London, T. Hookman 1838. 8°. — The Frithiof's Saga has been translated into nearly all the European languages. It appeared in 1825, and in 1879 there existed already 16 translations into German only, as Germany is the great translating nation of Europe.

[1] ibidem, p. 196—197.

[2] P. F. Siebold, Anthologie der nordgerman. (skandinavischen) dramatischen Literatur in deutschen Uebertragungen. Band II.

There is perhaps an unnatural element, an exaggeration, in Ibsen's Brand as in some of his other works; but however this may be, the female conception of Agnes, who helps Brand in the fulfilment of his highest duties, has something superhuman and sublime, which shows better than many other literary productions the true Aryan idealism. These figures only partly belong to earth, already during their life they belong to heaven, they are grand as the snowy mountains of Norway, and like these mountains a part of them loses itself in the sky and the clouds.

Not many similar conceptions can be found in Dutch literature, but still it has developed many literary female characters, since a course of centuries. Only a few names, of course, can be quoted. First of all, we have in the 16th century the poems of the „Sappho of Brabant", as she was called in her time, Anna Bijns. This woman of extraordinary piety was a teacher at Antwerp, her native town, where she died about the middle of the 16th century. Her verses have been translated into the Latin tongue, and her works reprinted during a century and a half. Certainly (Delepierre says) the reputation of an author is ephemeral, especially when party spirit sustains or lowers it, but we may boldly assert — and our judgment is safe, since we find ourselves supported by all our critics — that the reputation of Anna Bijns has in no wise deteriorated. But let the reader judge for himself. Here is a very close translation of one of her hymns:

„When on the verdant mead you tread,
And soothe your heart with Nature's charms,
Think of the land above your head,
Which spring, and spring eternal warms;
Where ripen fruits on earth unknown,
And flowers without blight or thorn.
How great that God whose word alone
Could thus the earth with flowers adorn!
Let your mind cull those fadeless flowers,
Your heart that happy home desire —

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Brand. Dramatisches Gedicht in 5 Akten. Aus dem Norweg. übertragen. 2e Aufl. Cassel 1880. 8°. — Vorwort, p. 7—8.

[Cf. M. Muret, Un précurseur d'Ibsen. Revue de Paris, juillet 1901, p. 120 sqq.]

**More brilliant glow those heavenly bowers,**
**Than any monarch's rich attire.**
**And now is music all around!**
**All things proclaim their Maker's praise!"** [1]

Then we have, in the 16th and 17th centuries, that is to say the flourishing period of Dutch literature, the two sisters Maria Tesselschade and Anna Roemer Visscher, eminent in poetry, music and Italian culture. The Dutch poetess Elizabeth Hoofman († 1736) composed already Latin verses when only sixteen years of age. The end of the 18th century can boast of two Dutch women, who were ornaments of their sex, Elizabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken, commonly called „Wolff en Deken", equally celebrated for their novels and their character. The language and the contents of their novels are essentially Dutch, and they have the greatest possible value for him, who wishes to form a clear and living idea of the former century. [2]

Since the days of these two distinguished women, Dutch literature has never forgotten this noble tradition, although the emancipation of women has become much stronger in England than in the Low Countries, the Netherlands. We must quote the names of Mrs. Bosboom—Toussaint, who wrote excellent novels; Miss Opzoomer (Wallis), who has published very remarkable historical studies; the poetess Hélène Swarth, the sisters Loveling in Belgium, etc. And in these days there seems to be a revival in Dutch female literature, although the Dutch are not at all a literary and poetical nation. Many woman-authors certainly ought to be quoted, showing deep feeling and a great talent; I only refer to Miss Anna de Savornin Lohman, whose novels deal with the highest social problems of this century. [3]

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[1] Octave Delepierre, A sketch of the history of Flemish literature, and its celebrated authors from the 12th century down to the present time. Compiled from Flemish sources. London, J. Murray 1860. 8°. p. 74—75.

[2] Eene reeks romans, die zoowel van taal als van inhoud geheel Hollandsch, de hoogste waarde hebben voor hem, die de levenswijze en de denkbeelden der vorige eeuw duidelijk en geestig zich wil zien voor oogen gesteld." (Doorenbos, Letterkunde, vol. 2, p. 300). cp. p. 302, note: „In den laatsten tijd is met recht de aandacht weer op Betje Wolf, de geestigste Nederlandsche vrouw in de 18e eeuw, gevestigd", etc.

[3] cp. my little book: Nederlandsche Letterkunde, een hoofd-

Now turning to England and to America, to the race mixed from Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and many other elements, we cannot even present a complete sketch, the materials being too vast. Moreover I should like to treat the literary history of woman in these countries together with the whole problem of emancipation of the female sex, so to say, from which it cannot be separated. The highest ideals of womanhood are presented before our eyes. Take for instance, Lady Russel's letters. An American critic remarks about them: „A very pathetic interest attaches to the collection of the letters of Lady Russel, the memory of her husband's tragic death on the scaffold casting a solemn light over the whole correspondence during a widowhood protracted to extreme old age, and distinguished no less by profound affection to her departed husband than by a widowed mother's untiring duty to her children. Her's was a life of genuine womanly heroism, a life with one awful sorrow in its centre, sustained if not cheered by thoughtful Christian piety. The correspondence is the unconscious portraiture of such a character, in which were combined the spirit of submission to affliction and an energetic fortitude that shrank from no duty. There is, perhaps, no more touching incident in British annals than that one so well-known on the trial of her husband for treason, when Lord Russel asked: „May I have somebody to write to help my memory?" The attorney-general answered: „Yes, a servant." The noble prisoner said: „My wife is here." The harshness of the chief justice (Pemberton) was softened, when, recognising Lady Russel's presence, he added: „If my lady please to give herself the trouble." [1]

The same American critic, who cites this noble example, remarks that it is a fine characteristic of the litera-

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stuk van vergelijkende letterkunde. Met een aanhangsel: General view of Dutch literature. Utrecht, Terveen, 1902. 47 p.

[1] Henry Reed, Prof. in Pennsylvania University, Introduction to English literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson. London (1855), p. 229. This book of an American scholar is very interesting, although I do not agree with many of his opinions, f. i. with a great deal of his judgment about Byron and Shelley, p. 166—167. But on the whole, it is a very suggestive book, and deserves to be studied.

ture of our times, that the genius of woman has shared largely and honourably in it. It has been so, from the share which Joanna Baillie had in the restoration of a more truthful tone of poetic feeling, and the delightful fictions with which Maria Edgeworth used to charm our childhood, down to the later company of women, who still adorn both prose and poetic literature (as Mrs Jameson, a prose-writer, and especially in her admirable criticisms both on art and literature, Mrs Kemble, Mrs Norton, and Mrs Browning, formerly Miss Barrett)." [1] But these words were written more than forty years ago, and since that time the number of female writers, on both sides of the Atlantic, has increased, and already in 1859 Griswold was able to publish a special work on the female poets of America.

The English poetesses are generally better known. Felicia Dorothea Hemans († 1835), for instance, ranks high among English poetesses, rather for her gracefulness and the soft feminine atmosphere of home, which is about most of her poems, than for any striking power — though power is not wholly wanting. Her earlier poems, which she began to publish at the age of 15, show great promise. — Elizabeth Barrett Browning († 1861) stands alone as the only great lyric poetess England has possessed. With a warm-hearted deep insight into life and its men and women, she combines a rare fluency and strength of words, which indeed at times jingle sadly out of tune, yet most often are full of the tenderest pathos of music, while in all and through all throb and flash the most genuine love of nature and enthusiasm in man. [2] But it is not only the

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[1] Reed, l. c. p. 173.

[2] These are not my words, but the words of Mr. H. Courthope Bowen in his: Studies in English, for the use of modern schools, prose and poetry to be learnt by heart. London 1876. 8°. p. 11, p. 29. It is to be observed that this criticism of the literary merits of Mrs. Hemans and Browning has been written by a man, and that it seems to me somewhat superficial. Men scarcely understand women wholly. Women ought not to be measured with the measures of men, and this applies also to literature, as to all other things. The great bodily and mental differences ought to become the basis of our literary criticism, and where this is not done the result must naturally be one-sided and superficial.

poetry, it is the whole life of these two interesting English women, which deserves our attention. The whole life of M^rs Hemans, after her separation from her husband in 1818, gives a striking example of the idealism of our Aryan race, in its female sex. A description of her, made afterwards by a lady friend, contains the following: „Other women might be more commanding, more versatile, more acute; but I never saw one so exquisitely feminine. She was lovely without being beautiful; her movements were features. Her birth, her education, but above all the genius with which she was gifted, combined to inspire a passion for the ethereal, the tender, the imaginative, the heroic — in one word, the beautiful. It was poetry that she sought in history, scenery, character, and religious belief — poetry that guided all her studies, governed all her thoughts, coloured all her conversation." [1]

Nearly the same can be said of M^rs Browning. „Books and humanity (it is M^rs Griswold, who informs us), great questions of the day, were the staple of her conversation. Religion, too, was an ever-present topic. She was one of the most religious women of her day, and she interwove it in all her conversation, as she did in her writings. Indeed, her religion was a part of herself, and whoever knew her must know of this strong, deep feeling. — On the walls of Casa Guidi a tablet has been placed to her memory, with this inscription: „Here wrote and died Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who to the heart of a woman joined the science of a scholar and the spirit of a poet, and who made with her verse a golden nuptial ring between Italy and England. Grateful Florence placed this memorial, 1861." [2]

We have already observed that Elizabeth Browning

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[1] Lives of good and great women. W. & R. Chambers, London & Edinburgh, s. a. 8°. p. 234—235.

[2] Lives of good and great women, p. 266—267. — As to Mrs. Browning's religion, was it the religion to which Schiller alludes when he says in his distich:

„Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen
„Welche bestehn, und warum keine? Aus Religion"?

(The word religion itself is very ambiguous.)

is compared to Sappho by a distinguished American critic. He calls her the greatest woman-poet the modern world has known, and says that her lyrics, every verse sealed with her individuality, glowing with sympathy, and so unconsciously and unselfishly displaying the nobility of her heart and intellect, have made the earth she trod sacred, and her resting-place a shrine. Her „Sonnets from the Portuguese", at the extreme of proud self-avowal, are equal in beauty, feeling, and psychical analysis to any series of sonnets in any tongue — Shakespeare's not excepted." There is, of course, a great deal of exaggeration, of „insularity" in these words. Some English and American critics are often one-sided, only from want of knowledge of the languages and literary productions of other nations. [1] I doubt whether the learned M[r] Stedman knows all the sonnets, written in other tongues, if he knows those of Dante he perhaps does not know the Dutch ones of Jacques Perk, Kloos, and many others. So his judgment ought to be accepted only cum grano salis. But even then, it is true on the whole, as far as it regards the noble character and the ideal literary qualities of this English poetess. Comparative literature will, in future times, take away the exaggerations of individual literary criticism, but it will intensify our literary judgment, justify our generalizations, and give to each production the place, which it really deserves in world-literature.

Intense feeling and many other higher female qualities are also to be found in the works of the great female novelists of this century, and even the unnatural elements, the exaggerations which many of these works contain (compare the exaggerations of Marlitt in Germany) for

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[1] Stedman, The nature and elements of poetry, p. 128. Mr. Stedman quotes 113 English and American authors, and of foreign literatures and tongues 72 all together, if I am not mistaken. Yet his book is exceedingly well-written, and it contains many excellent, even splendid, passages, f. i. p. 127: „The artistic temperament is androgynous, The woman's „intuition, sensitiveness, nervous refinement join with the re-„served power and creative vigor of the man to form the poet." Yet, even in these words there is misunderstanding. The creative vigor, does it not belong equally to women, but in another manner?

masculine readers at least, even these qualities show perhaps better than other things the ideal world, in which the highly-gifted women are accustomed to live. It is impossible to give in these pages a sketch of this grand literary movement; special lectures ought to be devoted to such a subject. One of the greatest woman-authors in the beginning of this century, Jane Austen, has been described as follows: „Shakspeare has had neither equal, nor second. But among the writers who, in the point which we have noticed, have approached nearest to the manner of the great master, we have no hesitation in placing Jane Austen, a woman of whom England is justly proud. She has given us a multitude of characters, all in a certain sense, commonplace, all such as we meet every-day. Yet, they are all as perfectly discriminated from each other as if they were the most eccentric of human beings.... And almost all this is done by touches so delicate, that they elude analysis, that they defy the powers of description, and that we know them to exist only by the general effect to which they have contributed." (Macaulay)

From Charlotte Bronté (Currer Bell), and George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans) to Mrs Humphrey Ward and so many other distinguished women of to-day there is a field, which cannot be overlooked in a moment, and which really deserves a special study. Writing in a world-language as English is, in a great country which has an enormously great reading public, addressing themselves not only to England but also to America and Australia and really to the whole world, some of these woman-authors enjoy already during their life the material reward, which ought to be bestowed upon genius, in most of the cases not fit for the ordinary, common and lower struggle for life and existence. [1]

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[1] „Für Middlemarch erhielt die Verfasserin (George Eliot) von dem Verleger John Blackwood ein Honorar von 7500 Pf. St., also mehr als 150,000 Mark. Ein englischer Blaustrumpf (!) hat also für ein einziges Buch, das noch dazu ziemlich langweilig ist, mehr Honorar bezogen als bei uns in Deutschland ein Göthe oder ein Schiller für alle seine Werke zusammen." (Scherr.)

In 1796, Madame d'Arblay received for her third novel, Camilla, the sum of (more than) three thousand guineas. — Macaulay, Critical and historical essays, p. 723.

It is not only by female novelists [1] that England is very distinguished now, it is also by female philosophers, who combine like Plato and Nietzsche philosophy and poetry into a higher, beautiful unity. I draw your attention to the publications of Lady Victoria Welby, who mixes not only with men and women of the highest rank, but also of the highest culture in England. One of her little books, to which she modestly gave the title of „Grains of Sense", is full of suggestive and interesting ideas (published in London, by J. M. Dent & Co., 1897) Few things — she says at the end, and I quite agree with her — would be likely to do more to further the prospects of universal peace, than a general expansion of the limits, and regeneration of the conditions, of linguistic converse between all civilised nations (the question of the world-language again!). But it is not only this sublime question of a universal language, which is treated in her book, we are surprised to find in this small publication so many fresh ideas and subtle remarks, that it really deserves the full attention of the upper ten thousand of the literary world. [1]

As the woman-writers of England, we repeat, deserve a special study, we cannot dwell any longer upon this subject. In Macaulay's essay on the Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay, published in London in 1842, in five volumes, we see that this great critic distinguishes between

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[1] Denkwürdig ist, dass Mary Ann Evans mittels ihres Talentes die englische Gesellschaft, bekanntlich die prüdeste der Welt, zwang sie zu achten, obgleich sie mit dem Literaten Lewes als sein Weib lebte, ohne seine Frau zu sein(!) Nach dem Tode von Lewes heiratete die 52jährige schnell noch einen 39jährigen Mr. Cross." (Scherr, Literatur. vol. 2, p. 111 note). A short but very interesting biography of Charlotte Bronté is to be found in the above mentioned book on the Lives of good and great women, p, 242—253.

[2] V. Welby, Grains of sense, London 1897, p. 3 (witty and poetical), p. 6 „we have enormously developed all means of „communication, except the most important of all", p. 22 (excellent), p. 26 (sublime), p. 36 (important for education), p. 44 (interesting), p. 47 sqq. (English as world-language), p. 55 (excellent), p. 71 (excellent), p. 100 (observation, that Darwin has rather written on the Ascent, not on the Descent of Man), p. 109 (witty), p. 115 sqq. (beautiful little parables), p. 136 (the fundamental idea of the book). I have not seen such a suggestive and witty little book for many years.

„true woman's English, clear, natural and lively", which seems no compliment for man's English and another style of English (?), which he does not describe, as it must have been indistinct, unnatural, and unlively — but it certainly shows the high idea which the writer himself entertains about English female writers. The whole essay of Macaulay is very interesting; we learn from it that at that time (end of 18th century) nothing could be more disadvantageous to a young lady than to be known as a novel-writer; that the novel „Evelina" which appeared in 1778 was the best work of fiction, that had appeared since the death of Smollett; we see before our eyes the lady of honour to the queen in a description so vivid and witty as scarcely can be surpassed; and we understand that the appearance of Madame d'Arblay is an important epoch in English literary history. Evelina (Macaulay adds) was the first tale written by a woman, and purporting to be a picture of life and manners, that lived or deserved to live..... The very name of „novel" was held in horror among religious people. In decent families there was a strong feeling against all such works. Sir Anthony Absolute, two or three years before Evelina appeared, spoke the sense of the great body of sober fathers and husbands, when he pronounced the circulating library an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge. Miss Burney did for the English novel what Jeremy Collier did for the English drama. Several woman have followed in her track. At present, the novels which we owe to English ladies form no small part of the literary glory of our country. *No class of works is more honourably distinguished by fine observation, by grace, by delicate wit, by pure moral feeling.* [1]

Turning from England back to the Eastern parts of Europe, we observe the most interesting evolution of the Slavic races, amongst whom the Russians play such a preponderant part. Though Slavic literature is yet, more or less, a book with seven seals to the other part of Europe, it becomes gradually better known, and there seems to be also a great number of distinguished female writers. In Bohemia, we are told, the novel-writer Caroline

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[1] Macaulay, Critical and historical essays, 1874, p. 731.

Svietla has had a fair success.[1] We learn about different Russian poetesses that they have developed a beautiful talent, only to quote the names of the countess Jewdokia Petrowna Rostóptschin, whose poems have been translated into German by the poet Bodenstedt and by others; of the countess Helene Rostóptschina, née Suschków; of M^rs^ Caroline v. Pavlowna, née von Jaenisch; of Miss Elisabeth Kulmann, who died very young (1801—1825). Some poems of the three last-mentioned Russian poetesses have been described and (partly) translated into German by the learned August Boltz, and published in one of his literary treatises.[2]

I will only dwell somewhat longer upon the writings of Elisabeth Kulmann, because they show a marvellous development of human genius, and her example and that of many other female writers clearly demonstrates to what height the female brain is able to rise, as soon as we shall have reached an equal and free education and civilisation of both sexes.

Elisabeth Kulmann, born 1808, was the daughter of poor parents, who lived in a suburb of St. Petersburg. Her mother first taught her Russian and afterwards German, and she had mastered both languages at the age of six! When she had attained to the age of twelve, she knew already French, English and Italian, and was studying Milton's Paradise Lost and Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata. At thirteen, she was occupied with ancient Greek, Latin, and the German classical authors. At fourteen, she

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[1] „Die begabte und bei ihren Landsleuten hochangesehene Novellistin Karoline Svietla hat die Stoffe zu ihren Erzählungen mit Vorliebe in den unteren und mittleren Volksklassen gesucht und gefunden". Scherr, Literatur, vol. 2, p. 399.

[2] The full title is: *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde aus Wort und Lied.* Acht Abhandlungen und erweiterte Vorträge ethnographisch—linguistischen Inhaltes nebst einer Sammlung von über hundert Dichtungen in 20 Sprachen und Dialekten, im Urtexte nebst metrischer Uebersetzung in den Original-Versmassen, von *August Boltz*, Professor, Oppenheim am Rhein 1868. 8°. 371 p. — This little book contains many masterpieces of modern translation, and is not so generally known as it deserves to be. [Elisabeth Kulmann's example also shows the one-sidedness of Mr. Stedman's standpoint, when he calls Mrs. Browning the greatest woman-poet the modern world has known].

learns the difficult Old Slavonic language, translates Anacreon into five languages, studies Homer and Virgil, learns modern Greek, composes many German poems, and besides this some Russian tales. Afterwards she acquired also the knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. — Her literary productions, admired in the meanwhile by Goethe, Voss and Jean Paul, procured her a pension of 300 roubles from the Empress Elisabeth Alexiewna, and the acquaintances of many families. She was proficient also in history and geography, and learned music and drawing.

When she was 17 years of age she died from consumption, and besides nearly 100.000 verses in the German, Russian and Italian languages, she left the following curious literary relics: 1. A great collection of poems, in sixty divisions. 2. A translation of Anacreon, mostly metrical, into five and parts of it into eight languages. 3. A German translation of some Russian tragedies of Oserow, and of some Italian ones of Alfieri. 4. A Russian translation, from the Spanish, of the fables of Iriarte. 5. A Russian translation of 30 odes from the Portuguese of Manoel, and of numerous Greek folk-songs. — After her early death, a splendid marble monument was erected, with inscriptions in the ten languages she understood, and the highest praise from the Imperial Academy and from the whole Russian press was bestowed upon her memory. [1]

Such extraordinary examples of course are great exceptions, and in Miss Kulmann's case there is even something contrary to nature. But on the other hand, as we shall try to show afterwards, it proves over and over again the

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[1] Boltz, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde aus Wort und Lied. 1868, p. 193—195. — Cp. Aus russischen Dichtern, in deutschen Uebertragungen. Halle a. d. S. p. 139—140.

Professor Craik says of Elizabeth Barrett (Mrs. Browning) that probably she is entitled to be regarded as the greatest woman poet that has yet appeared in any language" (Engl. literature and language, p. 514), but leaving the question aside whether Elisabeth Kulmann can be compared with Elisabeth Barrett (omnis comparatio claudicat), to Prof. Craik can be applied what I have said of Mr. Stedman, namely that some English (and American) literary critics too often neglect a little the literature of other languages. This does not apply to Professor Posnett's excellent work.

wonderful talent of some women, especially in the domain of languages and literature, and I am fully convinced that this study still awaits its greatest possible development in the future by a co-operation of men and women.

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All these specimens clearly show that there is a high conception of women and a great development of female literature in Aryan literature. To turn again to the Semites, we ought always to be *careful in our conclusions*, as our knowledge is so imperfect and the field of comparison so immeasurable. Here we can say with the Latin proverb „Omnis comparatio claudicat". We have only made some study of Hebrew and Arabic literature, certainly these two are the most important, but we must never forget that the groups of Semitic languages consist of the following: 1, *Northern*, Assyro-Babylonian, Phaenico-Hebrew, Punic, Samaritan, Aramaic, Chaldee, Syriac, Mandaite, Neo-Syriac, and 2, *Southern*, Gheez (Ethiopic), Amharic, Tigre (Tigrina), Harari, Himyaritic, (Sabean), Mehri, Ehkili, Arabic, Sinaitic, Safa, Maltese [1], and that we have compared only a small part of the groups of one race with a small part of the other. Chronological, social and other differences ought to be taken into consideration, the differences between the Arabs of the desert, of the towns, and (afterwards) in Spain, between the Jews in older and in modern periods, and so on. We can only venture to give some contributions to a later, serious study of so difficult a subject.

The Arabs seem to be facile principes amongst the Semites, but their history is divided into many periods. For the Bedouins the clan spirit, as Posnett calls it, is the first thing: „love your clan, exclaims a Bedouin poet, for „you are tied to your clan with bonds more solid, than „those between husband and wife". This is a characteristic passage for the conception of women. But still in ancient times, Arabian women must have enjoyed a certain liberty and higher culture. The Hamâsa, translated bij Rückert

[1] According to Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 37—38.

into German, contains not only songs of 521 poets, *but also of 56 poetesses*, and this mere fact proves a higher civilisation of women. It is a passionate and bodily love, which we find in Arabian poetry, for instance in the Moallakat's of Antar, describing Malik's daughter, the fair Abla; but this we find, more or less, everywhere in the Orient, where such a pure creation as Ibsen's Agnes would be perhaps an impossibility. A burning passion, like that which marks the great Arabian poet Amrilkais, is rarely met with, on the contrary, in our Northern climate. Until Mohammed's times (the Hedschrah, 622) we always hear of female poets; and the prophet even, we are informed, ordered a certain woman Asma, who had composed some lampoons against him, to be put to death. In later times, for instance in the glorious and luxurious period of the califs, of the renowned Haroen-al-rasjid and others, bodily passion together with luxury in general, becomes a marking element. [1]

About the conception of women amongst the Arabs in general we may refer to the following opinion of Scherr: Love, before Mohammed's times, was a brilliant passion, sometimes of bodily enjoyment, but sometimes also showing the softest feelings of a heart; this could only be possible in times, when women were not yet banished from public life into a harem's prison, and were not yet the slaves of a despotic master, to which state they were reduced by the Korân. Only in the ancient Arabian liberty and simplicity could women give and receive pure love, only then the poet Antara could exclaim: „I think of „you, when hostile spears quench their thirst in me, „when sharp swords bathe themselves in my blood. I enjoy, „when daggers cling together, because then they glitter like „thy teeth, when thou laughest"; only in those times could the poet Dschemil assure his beloved, in chivalrous

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[1] Cp. for instance the Kasîda-al-maksoera of Ibn Doreid, translated into Dutch by Bilderdijk, Doorenbos I p. 180—181 (in this poem the wine is compared to a virgin). On Bilderdijk's splendid translations cp: Aanwijzing der oude en nieuwere dichters, door W. Bilderdijk (en Vrouwe K. W. Bilderdijk) overgebragt of nagevolgd, met aanteekeningen, door Mr. J. Pan. (De Dichtwerken van Bilderdijk, 15e deel. Haarlem 1859, blz. 317—554).

fidelity, that his love would surmount all obstacles.[1] — We have already seen that since the introduction of the Islâm quite another, an inferior, conception of women and of love began to prevail.

During the great and flourishing times of the Moorish conquest of Spain[2] the level of women, so to say, seems to have been raised; as can be seen in the Moorish ballads. The greater part of these ballads refer to the period immediately preceding the downfall of the throne of Granada — the amours of that splendid court — the bull-fights and other spectacles in which its lords and ladies delighted no less than those of the Christian courts of Spain — the bloody feuds of the two great families of the Zegris and the Abencerrages, which contributed so largely to the ruin of the Moorish cause — and the incidents of that last war itself, in which the power of the Musulman was entirely overthrown by the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. To some it may perhaps occur that the part ascribed to Moorish females in these ballads is not always exactly in the Oriental taste; but the pictures still extant on the walls of the Alhambra contain abundant proofs how unfair it would be to judge from the manners of any Musulman nation of our day, of those of the refined and elegant Spanish Moors. To this observation Mr. J. G. Lockhart, the translator of the Spanish ballads, adds: As a single example of what is meant — in one of those pictures, engraved in the „Arabian Antiquities of Spain", by Mr. Murphy, a Moorish lady is represented, unveiled, bestowing the prize, after a tourney, on a kneeling Moorish knight.[3]

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[1] Scherr, Literatur, I p. 70. Cp. p. 74.

[2] It would be difficult to point out — says Lockhart — in the whole history of the world, a time or a country where the activity of the human intellect was more extensively, or usefully, or gracefully exerted, than in Spain, while the Musulman sceptre yet retained any portion of that vigour, which it had originally received from the conduct and heroism of Tarifa. (The Spanish Ballads, Introduction.)

[3] The Spanish ballads, translated by J. G. Lockhart, and the Chronicle of the Cid, bij Robert Southey („The Chandos Classics") London, Fred. Warne and Co., New York, s. a. 8°. — Introduction, f. 13.

cf. Dozy (R.), Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne. (1861)

As a specimen of these Moorish ballads, which shows a much higher conception of love and of women, I take „Zara's ear-rings", in Mr. J. G. Lockhart's fine translation:

1.

„My ear-rings! my ear-rings! they' ve dropt into the well,
And what to say to Muça, I cannot, cannot tell" —
't Was thus Granada's fountain by, spoke Albuharez' daughter,
„The well is deep, far down they lie, beneath the cold blue water,
To me did Muça give them, when he spake his sad farewell,
And what to say when he comes back, alas! I cannot tell.

2.

„My ear-rings! my ear-rings! they were pearls in silver set,
That when my Moor was far away, I ne'er should him forget,
That I ne'er to other tongue should list, nor smile on other's tale,
But remember he my lips has kissed, pure as those ear-rings pale —
When he comes back, and hears that I have dropped them in [the well,
Oh what will Muça think of me, I cannot, cannot tell.

3.

„My ear-rings! my ear-rings! he'll say they should have been,
Not of pearl and of silver, but of gold and glittering sheen,
Of jasper and of onyx, and of diamond shining clear,
Changing to the changing light, with radiance insincere.
That changeful mind unchanging gems, are not befitting well —
Thus will he think — and what to say, alas! I cannot tell.

4.

„He'll think when I to market went, I loitered by the way,
He'll think a willing ear I lent to all the lads might say,
He'll think some other lover's hand, among my tresses noosed,
From the ears where he had placed them, my rings of pearl [unloosed,
He'll think when I was sporting so beside this marble well,
My pearls fell in — and what to say, alas! I cannot tell.

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Von Schack, Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien. 2 vol. 1865.

Schlegel, Lectures on the history of literature, London 1868, p. 247—248: „In these romances, more charming, to my fancy, than those in any other living tongue, the Arab spirit and vivid eastern colouring that have so sensibly tinged all succeeding Spanish poetry are not to be mistaken".

Posnett, Comp. Liter. p. 139: „No doubt the Arabs in Spain and during the Crusades often supplied models of chivalrous deportment to European knights".

5.

He'll say I am a woman, and we are all the same,
He'll say I loved when he was here to whisper of his flame —
But when he went to Tunis my virgin troth had broken,
And thought no more of Muça, and cared not for his token.
My ear-rings! my ear-rings! oh, luckless, luckless well,
For what to say to Muça, alas! I cannot tell.

6.

„I 'll tell the truth to Muça, and I hope he will believe
That I thought of him at morning, and thought of him at eve.
That musing on my lover, when down the sun was gone,
His ear-rings in my hand I held, by the fountain all alone,
And that my mind was o'er the sea, when from my hand they fell,
And that deep his love lies in my heart, as they lie in the well." [1]

A more beautiful ballad, and a finer description of true love, one scarcely could imagine. We may allude here also to the rare beauty of Moorish architecture, many specimens of which are to be found in Spain. Certainly we may add that if this ballad is genuine and of true Moorish origin, it shows that Semites, under better circumstances, can approach the high level of a conception of woman as equal to men, and of love as much more than a sensual enjoyment. We have already observed that the Arabs seem to be facile principes amongst the Semites, and this applies also to the Arabs before Mohammed. Poetry was in great esteem among them, and the women, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, assisted at their poetical entertainments; hospitality was habitual to them, and they are commended by the ancients for being most true to their words. As language is a true reflex of character, we also mention that Arabic, among the Semitic tongues, claims the preference as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious that

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[1] The Spanish ballads, etc. etc, p. 116—117. [The same ballad is admirably translated into Dutch by W. Bilderdijk.] — I have taken the liberty, the translator remarks, to omit certain lines, in which mention is made of „the Mass" and „the Marquisses". Depping considers these as the interpolations of a Spaniard unskilfully rendering a Moorish song.

[In my little architectural comedy „De Villa Silberstein" a short description of Moorish architecture and style is given.]

they say no man without inspiration can be perfect master of it in its utmost content. [1]

A special comparison between Hebrew and Arabic requires a profound knowledge of these languages which I do not possess; to me it seems that Hebrew (language, literature, and conceptions) is greatly inferior to its sister, but we must never forget that the cruel persecutions of the Jews must have done much to spoil, to harden and to render stubborn their character. And cannot these facts have also contributed to some barrenness in Hebrew language and literature? Liberty only and a true spirit of mutual love can improve it. To cite only two well known examples of Jewish authors, Spinoza and Heine, it cannot be denied (and I do not agree with Dühring's exaggerations) that in both these writers deep feeling for women, and a high conception of them, is to be found. Spinoza, the great forerunner of Goethe, did not work out this subject, but in his analysis of the passions, and in his works in general, one finds a sublime conception of the destiny of men and women, and of society. As far as regards Heine, we may refer to the beautiful sonnet, addressed to his mother, although the same Heine shows in his works the most contradictory feelings and ideas, and too often spoils the impression of his beautiful verses and sublime ideas by intermingling them at the same time with inferior sentiments and vulgar ideas. [2] But notwithstanding these faults, the examples prove that the relative inferiority of Semitic literature and thought in Europe may be raised to an equality with the best and highest conceptions of the Aryans, if only the material conditions

[1] The Korân, etc. by G. Sale. Preliminary discourse p. 20, p. 21, p. 22—23. W. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language. Lond. 1862, p. IX.

[2] Macaulay remarks: If all the red-haired people in Europe had, during centuries, been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, imprisoned in that, deprived of their money, deprived of their teeth, convicted of the most improbable crimes on the feeblest evidence, dragged at horses' tails, hanged, tortured, burned alive, if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults, locked up in particular streets in some countries, pelted and ducked bij the rabble in others, excluded everywhere from magistracies and honours, what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair?"

Macaulay, Crit. and histor. essays, Lond. 1874, p. 144.

can be improved, which up to the present have so often been an obstacle for a free and high evolution of the character of those Semites, who are living in Europe.

* * *

After these modest contributions to a future comparison of Aryans and Semites, in their literary domain, I must again refer to a striking and most peculiar difference between the two families of languages, as the great affinity between language and literature has not yet been studied in a satisfactory manner. The quality of word-composition, which Aryan but not Semitic languages possess, does perhaps not mark superiority, it only shows that there exists an enormous difference between the two groups. As Professor Sayce remarks: „In phonology, in structure, in grammar, and in vocabulary no two groups of speech can be more dissimilar." — According to another great linguist, Justi, Semitic languages are superior in the doubling of the consonants, and in the numerous vowel-changes and vowel-variations. But it marks superiority, he maintains, when one group of languages has given a fuller development to a certain common principle, than another group of the same family. It is not a pure accident, he continues, that the poetical nations of our Indo-european family, the Indians, the Greeks, and the Germans (or rather Teutons) make a much greater use of word-composition, which is more poetical than juxta-position. [1]

Some years ago I have also published, in German, a treatise upon word-composition in several families of languages, which could only be a modest beginning as nearly all the families of languages, which seem to exist in the world, were treated in it. [2] But, to return to

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[1] Justi, F., Ueber die zusammensetzung der nomina in den indogermanischen Sprachen. Göttingen 1861, 8o., p. 134 (a most excellent treatise).

[2] The late Professor D. G. Brinton, of the Univ. of Pennsylvania U. S., has made the following remarks about my little book: „While mainly devoted to the Aryan group, he has the breadth of mind, rare among Aryan specialists, to remember that all tongues are not built on Aryan models, and therefore calls under consideration the Ural Altaic, Australian, and even, mirabile

our subject, it seems possible that a careful comparison between the Aryan and the Semitic group of languages will throw fresh light upon the mental and moral comparisons, which I began in the present work.

While composition (it is again Sayce who remarks it) is the very life and essence of Aryan speech, it is thoroughly repugnant to Semitic modes of thought. With the Semite the universe is an undivided whole, not a compound resolvable into its parts..... The entire point of view from which the grammar started was reversed in the two families of language. It is true that with the lapse of centuries the Aryan sentence became complex and confused, and though Teutonic English still says „good man" and „man's good", the Frenchman speaks of l'„homme bénévole" and „la bénéficence de l'homme"; it is true, also, that Assyrian acquired the habit of making the object precede the verb, possibly in consequence of Accadian influence; nevertheless if we look at the two families of speech as wholes, we shall see that the syntax of each has remained faithful to its primitive starting-point. It is difficult, however, to compare the rich development of the Aryan sentence, with its numberless conjunctions and verbal forms, with the bald simplicity of Semitic expression. *The Aryan sentence is as well fitted to be the instrument of the measured periods of reasoned rhetoric as the Semitic sentence is of the broken utterances of lyrical emotion.* [1]

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dictu, the American languages, for purposes of comparison. In this particular field the last mentioned offer peculiarly abundant topics of study in their synthetic and incorporative character, to which the author alludes, but perceives that the field is too vast to be surveyed in a few pages. In some groups of tongues, as the Sinitic (?), word-coupling cannot be said to exist in the sense of the dvandva of the Sanskrit grammarians; under certain restrictions, its presence and development lend flexibility, accuracy and poetic power to a tongue, and thus serves as a criterion of linguistic evolution. This and other suggestive thoughts will be found in the essay".

(„Science", N. S. vol. IV, No. 87, p. 264.)

[1] Sayce, The science of language, vol. 2, p. 177—178. Yet there are linguists who adopt a primitive unity of both families of languages. There seem also to be anthropologists, who adopt a (primitive?) unity of the Aryan, the Semitic? and the Hamitic? race. Professor Flower, for instance, takes three large groups — the Caucasian of Europe, the Mongolian of Asia, and the

These observations of Sayce, suggestive as they are, can only be preliminary of course, as the question has not yet been studied enough. The comparative study of the words and forms, by which the Aryans and the Semites tried to express their ideas (grammar, etymology), and of the sentences by which these ideas were linked together (syntax), can be of the highest value for a comparative study of their literature in former periods, before modern life had taught the races and nations to speak and to write in another than their native tongue.

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Ethiopian of Africa — only, and the Caucasian or white division he divides into 1. Xantho chroi or blonde type (Northern Europe), and 2. Melanochroi, in S. Europe, N. Africa and S. W. Asia. Cf. W. H. Flower, On the classification of the varieties of the human species. London 1885. 8°. In Haeckel's Natürl. Schöpfungsgeschichte, 9. Aufl. 1897, another classification is to be found („Hypothetische Skizze des monophyletischen Ursprungs und der Verbreitung der 12 Menschen-Species von Süd-Asien aus über die Erde"). But even this seems somewhat premature, as the laws have not yet been fixed, which govern the evolution of races in man (and the lower animals). The study of anthropology and ethnology ought to be raised to a higher standpoint, and to be more closely connected with all the other sciences. „The proper study of mankind is man" (Pope), but anthropology („anthropogeny" as Haeckel calls it) is not yet generally regarded and studied as a necessary base of the all-embracing natural sciences, to which also a future science of literature belongs. My next work will be more specially devoted to the methods and to the foundation of such a new literary science.

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III. (Appendix).

# List of the principal works

OF

Dr. H. C. MULLER. [1])

1878. Gedichten. Amsterdam, Gebroeders Kraay.
1880. De rhythmis Graecorum capita quaedam. Dissertatio inauguralis. Amstelodami, Johannes Müller.
1884. De Villa Silberstein. Oorspronkelijk architectonisch blijspel. Amsterdam, Roeloffzen en Hübner.
1885. Een woord over Multatuli. Amsterdam, Allert de Lange.
1886. Wachter, wat is er van den nacht? Zangen des tijds. Groningen, F. Muller.
De Triomf der Vrije Gedachte. Een gedicht.
1887. De Wedstrijd der Kunsten. Dramatische proef. Amsterdam, Johannes Müller.
Nausikaa. De 6e Zang van Homeros' Odyssee, metrisch vertaald. (De Leeswijzer).
1888. De klassieke studiën als grondslag van het hooger onderwijs. (Conjunctis Viribus).

[1]) This list contains only the principal publications, a fuller list is to be found in the Hellas VI, I (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1896), p. 90—94. (from 1878—1896).

1888. Griekenland's dichterlijke lente (Holland-Vlaanderen).
Latijnsche Syntaxis. Met een aanhangsel over de uitspraak van het Latijn. Amsterdam, H. v. Munster & Zoon.

1889. Hellenisch, auch als allgemeine Gelehrtensprache („Hellas").
Ἡ τοῦ Ῥεγνὼ θεωρία τῆς βαθμιαίας ἐξελίξεως („Ἀθηνᾶ")

1891—1892. Historische Grammatik der Hellenischen Sprache. 2 Bände. I, Grammatik. II, Chrestomathie. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

1892. Ueber (des pseudo-) Aristoteles' Schrift vom Staate der Athener. („Hellas").
Cobeti de lingua neograeca judicium. Epistola critica ad Naberum. („Hellas").
Verslag eener wetenschappelijke zending naar Griekenland, in den zomer van 1892. (Ned. Staatsbl. N°. 275).

1893. Sallustius, De samenzwering van Catilina. Amsterdam, van Looy.
Xenophon, Anabasis of Tocht van Cyrus. Amsterdam, van Looy.

1894. Schets der Helleensche of Grieksche Letterkunde (vrij naar R. C. Jebb). Amsterdam, van Looy.

1895. Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Griechischen Sprache. Neugriechische Studien und Neugriechische Dialektforschung („Hellas").

1896. Beiträge zur Lehre der Wortzusammensetzung. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff.

1898. Hamlet, second prince of Denmark, or Glimpses of a summer meeting. Edinburgh, Aug. 25, 1898.
L'étude scientifique de la littérature comparée. Revue Internat. de l'Enseignement, Paris.
De beoefening der Grieksche taal en letteren. Amsterdam, W. Versluys.

1899. Nala en Damayantî. (Eerste 9 zangen.) Episode uit het Indisch heldendicht Mahâbhârata. Uit het Sanskrit. 's-Hage, De Tijdspiegel.

1901. De Vogels van Aristophanes, in de oorspronkelijke versmaten vertaald. Utrecht, Kemink.
Ueber die von Kenyon herausgegebene Emphyteusis-Urkunde. Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner.

1901. Bijdragen tot de kennis der geschiedenis en der receptie van het Romeinsche Recht. I. „Themis", 's Gravenhage, Belinfante.

1902. Nederlandsche Letterkunde. Een hoofdstuk van vergelijkende letterkunde. Met een aanhangsel: General view of Dutch literature. Utrecht, Terveen.

1902—1903. Proeve eener wijsgeerige inleiding tot de rechtswetenschap. 1. Voorrede. 2. Over eene rechtstaal. 3. Over het terrein eener rechtswetenschap. 4. Over volkenrecht. 5. Over strafrecht. 6. Over andere onderafdeelingen. Slotbeschouwingen. — „Themis," 's-Gravenhage, Belinfante.

1904. Wetenschappelijk volkenrecht, als onderdeel van wetenschappelijke rechtsstudie. „Themis," 's-Gravenhage, Belinfante.

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In preparation:

1902—1903. Voorlezingen over de wetenschappelijke en wijsgeerige grondslagen van de studie der letterkunde, gehouden voor studenten te Utrecht.

1904. Bijbel voor Vrije Denkers. Fantasieën over thema's uit het Nieuwe Testament.

1904. On the necessity of a new system of philosophy. — Sur la nécessité d'une philosophie nouvelle. — Ueber die Nothwendigkeit einer neuen Philosophie. — Over de noodzakelijkheid eener nieuwe wijsbegeerte.

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